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PAGAN TRIBES OF THE NILOTIC SUDAN

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Lotuko FJ17

142
291
301
791

Igang, the Lotuko rain-maker (left), and companion

[Facing p. iii]

[Frontispiece

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* This photograph has been retouched.

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It should have been mentioned in the Foreword that, for the reason stated on page 151, relationship terms are generally given in the possessive (first person singular).

[p. X]

FOREWORD

176 IT was in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when
Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan for Egypt, that western
civilization came into touch with the Nile Negroes, and it was not
until fifty years later, during the period of the great explorers—
Speke, Grant, Marno, Schweinfurth, Emin, Junker, and others—that
114 there was any reliable knowledge of the character of the various tribes
and of the areas they occupied. Travelling and investigating before
the birth of modern anthropological methods, the information
gathered by these early explorers is of relatively slight value to the
anthropologist. Further progress was stopped by the rise of the
Mahdi, and it was not until 1900, after the reconquest of the Sudan,
that investigation became possible. Acting under the advice of that
122 many-sided scholar the late D. G. Hogarth, Sir James Currie (then
Director of Education) induced the Sudan Government to provide the
funds for a small ethnographic survey which we were asked to undertake.
It was Sir James who made the preliminary arrangements for our
visit, and to him we owe a great deal for his kindly and carefully
considered introduction to what was then a difficult and little-known
country, as well as for the completely free hand he gave us as to the
manner of our work.

An ethnographic survey should not merely give an account of the
121 main physical and cultural characters of the people of a given area,
but should provide the data for the study of their relationship to each
other as well as to tribes outside the area surveyed. Therefore,
although it has not been possible to obtain the same amount of
information among all the peoples studied, we have tried to adhere
to a general plan. Whenever possible, subjects have been measured
and photographed, not only to give an idea of the physical characters
of each tribe but because we believe these characters to be most
important in settling the affinities of tribal and larger groups. The
political and social organization has been recorded (at least in outline)
with as much as possible of the religious beliefs, for without
a knowledge of these no aspect of tribal life can be understood. Whilst
no people has been investigated so thoroughly as to yield a complete
cultural picture, we have, we believe, laid the foundation of a scientific
study of the peoples of the Sudan. In doing this we have constantly

[121] keeps before us the necessities of the official, for the greatest need of the administrator is to understand the politico-religious outlook of a subject race: codes of land tenure or criminal procedure are worthless unless there is knowledge of the social fabric and of the attitude towards the supernatural. For these reasons we have recorded all that we could of the part played by the rain-maker and other departmental experts, as well as the attitude towards ancestral and other spirits, and, since an understanding of life within the extended family group is almost equally important, we have paid much attention to kinship systems, noting the terms and so far as possible analysing the duties and privileges incumbent upon kinsmen. Certain important aspects of magic could not be studied, as this subject for the most part requires an intimate knowledge of the language of the people [117] investigated. In this matter Professor Evans-Pritchard's results are particularly valuable.

We made no attempt to study technological processes, but specimens of any object of outstanding interest, either from the point of view of adaption or of distribution, were, if possible, collected and presented to the National Museum. Linguistics were also outside the scope of our study, yet in southern Kordofan we were so impressed by the difference of the languages spoken there from those of the Nile-Nubians with which they had been previously confused that we spent some time in recording the elements of these tongues.

Wherever possible we have used the genealogical method, and have found it of the greatest value; we have however refrained from publishing genealogies, except when these are necessary to 128 illustrate some particular point.

For those tribes of which we have a reasonable knowledge our material is arranged under five headings (viz. "Regulation of Public Life", "Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage", "Religion", "Rain-making", "Death and Funeral Ceremonies"). Where, however, we are dealing with little-known peoples, e.g. those of Darfung, or areas of intense tribal confusion and disintegration, as the south-western Bahr el Ghazal, it would be misleading to attempt this, and such knowledge as we have is given under tribal headings. Nor have we always been able to be strictly logical in our arrangement, sometimes logic has perforce yielded to convenience.

115 Our first expedition, in 1909–10, was naturally from north to south along the Nile, and we also visited the Nuba. The second expedition, in 1911–12, was mainly east to west, when we studied

the Kababish of Kordofan and the Beja of the Red Sea Province. 114 It was not until 1921 that we were able to resume our work, the winter of 1921–2 being spent mainly among the tribes south and east of the Dinka, i.e. among the Bari and the Lotuko-speaking tribes. Severe illness during the next few years negatived further work in over the tropics, but the survey was taken up and extended by our friend and pupil, Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard. In three expeditions he worked especially among the tribes of the south-west Bahr el Ghazal and the Azande, later extending his studies to that most difficult people the Nuer. Professor Evans-Pritchard has already begun to publish his results, largely in *Sudan Notes and Records*, but besides being able to avail ourselves of these for our West Bank chapters we have, owing to his remarkable generosity, had at our full disposal his photographs, his Bahr el Ghazal and Nuer notes, and the almost finished manuscript of his Azande monograph, a study which will undoubtedly rank as one of the most exhaustive and authoritative of anthropological works. We desire to take this opportunity of emphasizing how slight is our first-hand knowledge of Azande and Nuer, and how greatly we are indebted to him; we would also point out that part of the chapter dealing with the Fung Province is based on his material. But although we have had the benefit of his constant help and advice, and not only in regard to the above-mentioned peoples, Professor Evans-Pritchard must in no way be held responsible for our presentation of the facts or our conclusions concerning them. The same holds with regard to two others who have helped us in the most generous and unselfish manner, freely putting at our disposal their great experience and the contents of their notebooks. We refer to the Venerable Archdeacon Shaw and to Mr. G. O. Whitehead. The former has lived for many years among the Dinka, the latter is our leading authority on the Bari and the Bari-speaking tribes; from both we have received help of inestimable value.

In connection with the Bari we must also express our gratitude to an old friend, Mr. Ernest Haddon, of the Uganda Civil Service, who a quarter of a century ago when the Bari country formed part of Uganda presided over the destinies of the tribe and compiled an MS., later put at our disposal, from which we have not hesitated to quote.

We have, indeed, everywhere been most fortunate in the assistance rendered to us. Two successive Governors, General Sir Reginald Wingate and Major-General Sir Lee Stack, stimulated our work by

030 their manifest interest. Our indebtedness to the Department of Education, to which we were attached, is very great: Sir James Currie's part we have already mentioned; his successor, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, was our constant guide and friend, ever ready with advice and help, indeed it was at his suggestion that we were accompanied on our last expedition by Mr. S. H. Hillelson, to whom we must also express our gratitude. Mr. J. G. Matthew, until recently Secretary for Education and Health, has not only assisted us as Principal of the Gordon College, but was of the utmost service in 1912 when in administrative charge of the Khor Baraka area in the Red Sea Province. The present Civil Secretary, Sir Harold MacMichael, helped us greatly on our second expedition, he was our companion for part of it, and personally introduced us to the Kababish; we also feel that we owe him a debt of gratitude for his constantly sympathetic attitude towards anthropological research, exemplified by the introduction which, in spite of the many calls on his time, he has written to this volume.

These are some of the men who helped us most, but we received such ready aid from so many that certain names must be mentioned, even if in doing so we seem to ignore others to whom we are almost equally indebted. In Khartoum the late Sir Andrew Balfour was an old and valued friend, with whom it was a pleasure to discuss pathological problems; his successor, Major R. G. Archibald, showed us much kindness. In the Provinces, while freely acknowledging the ready help afforded us by every Governor and District Commissioner with whom we came in contact, we would especially mention Colonel R. V. Savile, Mr. K. C. P. Struvé, Mr. V. R. Woodland, Major R. G. C. Brock, Mr. L. F. Nalder, and Mr. J. D. P. Chataway. Dr. E. P. Pratt has gone to much trouble to provide us with physical data from Darfung, while the Reverend J. A. Heasty and Colonel H. A. Lilley have given us valuable information concerning the Anuak and Lango respectively; the Rev. D. N. MacDiarmid has read our Nuba chapter, and the Rev. Fathers Crazzolara and Molinaro have answered questions concerning Acholi and Lotuko. To Mr. J. H. Driberg, the senior editor of this Series, we are particularly indebted: not only is he an old friend with whom we have for years been accustomed to discuss African problems, but he is the only man who has any knowledge of the tribes inhabiting the remote south-eastern border of the Sudan, that area of tribal confusion whose marches are equally those of

Abyssinia, Kenya, and Uganda. It follows that to him we owe directly or indirectly, much that we have written in Chapter X.

Even this extended list is not exhaustive: many others have helped us in varying degrees, and we can only hope that we have made adequate acknowledgements in the text.

In this country we have received advice and help from Lord Raglan and from Dr. A. N. Tucker, while for the tribal map[1] and the beautifully drawn text-figures (excepting only Figs. 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 26, and 27) we are sincerely grateful to our friend Sir Montagu Montagu-Pollock, who has spent endless time in carrying out our suggestions. To Miss P. H. Puckle we are indebted not only for the index, but for constant aid throughout the preparation of our volume. It is also a pleasant duty to express our gratitude to the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, for permission to reproduce photographs and portions of text which we have from time to time during the last twenty years contributed to the *Journal* and to *Man*, to the editors of *The Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, and to Messrs. Clark, of Aberdeen, for allowing us to utilize much of three articles (Dinka, Shilluk, Nuba) contributed to their great *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. The Editorial Committee of *Sudan Notes and Records* has permitted us to reprint (with emendations) a contribution of our own dealing with the Lotuko, as well as Mr. Munro's account of the installation of the Shilluk king in 1918, and we take this opportunity of acknowledging the assistance we have derived from many of the articles that have appeared between its covers.

Finally we desire to thank the Rockefeller Research Fund, administered by the London School of Economics (University of London), for help which not only facilitated bibliographical and clerical work in this country but was of the greatest assistance to Professor Evans-Pritchard in the field.

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[1] Considerable use has been made of the *Tribal Map* published by the Sudan Government (Khartoum, 1931); it must, however, be understood that tribal areas are only approximate. The sketch map constituting Fig. 1 also derives from a government publication.

C. G. S.
B. Z. S.

[pp. xvi - 36 not processed]

Chapter II

THE SHILLUK

131 The Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. 132 433 Theirs is the flat grass country, dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and 231 243 although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. 161 A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 11,000 head of cattle and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,000,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

171 174 We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

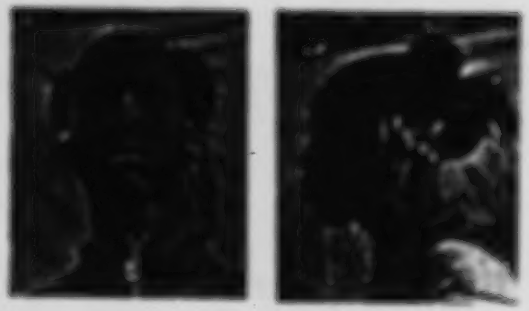
[179] The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

---

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

Plate III

1



2

3

4

5

Shilluk types. No. 1 average, 2 [illegible], 4 "Negroid," 5 women (unusually broad-faced)

(See p. [illegible])

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174 171 the Shilluk nation. As Nyikang passed northwards along the river he incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals into human form to become his subjects.[1]

174 142 The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us to vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) figured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. 174 142 144 Such wide variation can be best explained by assuming that Nyikang and his followers represented a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

233 [555] [462] The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

---

173 539 114 [1] A number of Westermann's tales (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyikang, including turtle-men (*op. cit.*, p. 165) and some mysterious river people (*op. cit.*, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyikang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyikang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (*op. cit.*, p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyikang:—

> "When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Arodi, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked him, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyikang. Hofmayr (*op. cit.*, 64) thinks that Odak, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 15 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

233 when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear them-
[221] selves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

226 Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are
224 by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

32 The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work,
[316 though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by
434] trade—formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are
501 necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus*
[57] *flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

631 The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

Plate IV

192, 241

Contrasting types of Shilluk

361

Shilluk villages from Nile

[face p. 40

631 on page 41. Gar, the northern division, has Golbat as its capital. Each division has five provinces; those of Luak from south to north are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with [778] capital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyikang, perhaps the holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Aderl or Didiin, and Fadit, while Gar is divided into Didwock, Dimoth, Non, Dilyang Dwong, and Jongmiang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the geographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly portion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of one of the most important shrines of Nyikang.

The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; the chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of the king in this district.

361 It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly applicable to the Shilluk settlements. In typical Shilluk country on the west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, as has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets are small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead 592 belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts 342 surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single 614 clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by 621 blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Henry 613 informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising 614 through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large 621 and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential

613 man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will
614 take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead,
621 family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogo, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

621 Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a *fano*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*).
631 A number of *fano*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

621 Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogo and Pameti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Arwadhi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

614 As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a
114 number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

781 There are numerous observances connected with animals, including
825 some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan
114 exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following
773 example:—

825 "The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

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[1] Op. cit., 127–30.

[2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticized.

773 son of Deng) came in the time of Dewat . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became
825 many some went to Fenikang Oduronjo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adefalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the dwalo sickness."[1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayindo* (a bean), *cwa* (tamarind), and *odo* (hearth-stone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *curro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

262 As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed
773 that the prohibition to eat the fish *curro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river.
825 Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajwago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

614 Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that
771 Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while
825 the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

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[1] Op. cit., 178-9. [2] Op. cit., 127. [3] Op. cit., 256.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 255), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Heasty of a *kwa* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Heasty, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwa* have no totem."

114 [77]

In any case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs. 925 [781]

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathoor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *olak*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *olak* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *olak* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *olak* and the lemon are no longer avoided. 304 789 304 578 [246] [177]

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now 643

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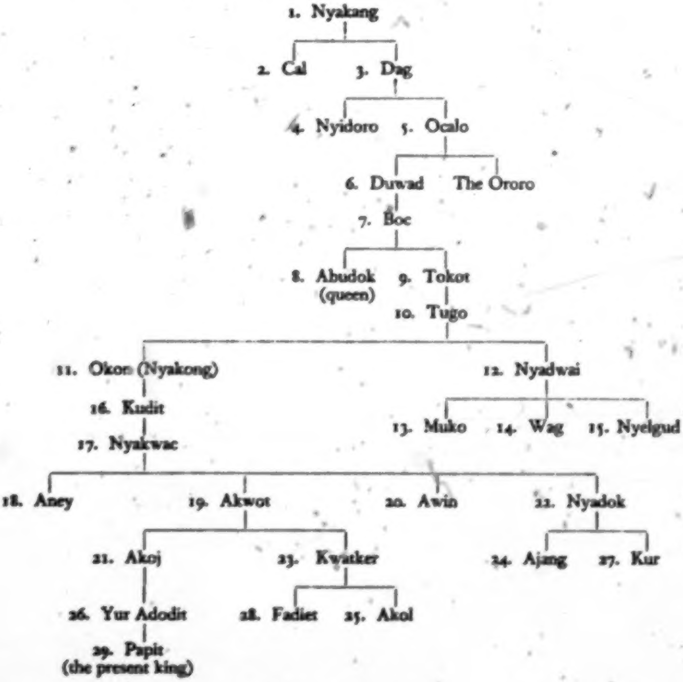
[1] Op. cit., 233.

643 limit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal functions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties and privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial division a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; for instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, although the election is largely a temporal matter.

643 173 114 We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house rather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on account of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, with spelling modified, that we now reproduce.


1. Nyakang
2. Cal
3. Dag
4. Nyidoro
5. Ocalo
6. Duwad
The Ororo
7. Boc
8. Abudok (queen)
9. Tokot
10. Tugo
11. Okon (Nyakong)
12. Nyadwai
16. Kudit
17. Nyakwac
13. Muko
14. Wag
15. Nyelgud
18. Aney
19. Akwot
20. Awin
22. Nyadok
21. Akoj
23. Kwatker
24. Ajang
27. Kur
26. Yur Adodit
28. Fadiet
25. Akol
29. Papit (the present king)

643 173 The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

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[113] [1] "Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911.

two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from 643
which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it 173
may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that
this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers,
ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle
succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings
have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22).
Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne,
and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point
of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which
of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen.
It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very [648]
good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-
eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government
influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future,
since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk
king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confine-
ment in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king,
succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the
Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of
Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual
enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living;
certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during
the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular
nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised 631
through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which 635
the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to 643
be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the
community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the
"great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the
king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's
messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the
provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old 643
days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps 644
up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son
addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding
the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

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[1] Op. cit., 151–2.

643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two
kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the
respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food
on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to
crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment
being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she
would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal
to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted
[692] by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[651] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples
in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will
show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone
killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the
gyek antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As
the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was
levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king
would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth;
or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the
cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle
to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be
continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families
but whole villages becoming involved.

Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of
635 a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that
577 his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and
that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the
old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet,
recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go
hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave
the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief
takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the
blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the
ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Duong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ago*.

only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit 635 577
incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-
chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly [431]
presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every
high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority
as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their com- 622
munities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary,
though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to [645]
the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are
selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of inter- 644
national fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), 173
from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). 644
The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, 342
no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, 582
even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; 643
thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry
commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, [177]
though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the
old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a [583]

582 girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father
583 he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually
643 double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no
negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle
643 of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to
mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with
the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk
593 woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take
562 a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel
with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish
643 her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head
644 wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself.
She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king;
she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds
her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom
582 take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive
565 woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth
644 or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent
591 with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains
under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when
she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy
she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native
village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion.
In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions
are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and
discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up
and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every
644 royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the
565 utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their
privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters
582 are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting
for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not
marry a *nyireth*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous.
836 Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children.
Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareth*

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[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

PLATE V

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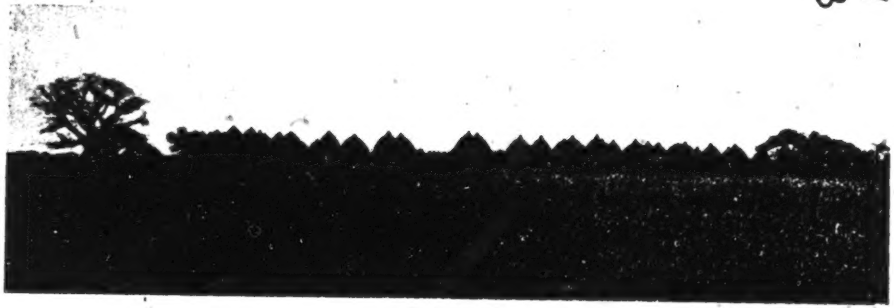
343

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



Fashoda

Fashoda, cattle byres and cattle

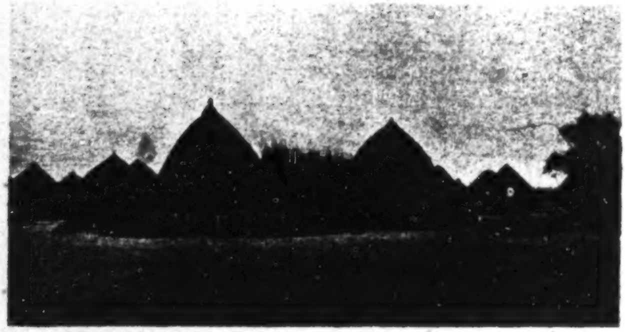
[face p. 48.

PLATE VI

342
644

Fashoda, Aturwic

346
778



Akurwa, shrine of Nyakang in 1910

[face p. 48

[8]

644 or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by
565 the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine
[836] half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated
[562] with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district
affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they
never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

643 We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual
669 warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk
quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the
old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated
in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving
[173] children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three
of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this
was a common practice.

644 The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are
nyinyireth, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children
566 again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as
of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the
[304] royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having
them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth*
are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a
privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called
kwareth. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to
the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become
a chief.

565 Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

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[173] [1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260–2). Mr. Heasty confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Duwad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Duwad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Duwad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Duwad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

565 in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 92–6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

[563] Commoners are known as *ocolo*, though strictly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the companions of Nyakang, while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (Nuba, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwa*.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

601 We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Nilotes, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the systems of all these tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be examined separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confused with the father's brother, or clansman of the father's generation, but certain concessions are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

[582] As a result of the system of exact description common to the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden in marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the indebtedness which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations

between brother and sister and of each of these to the children of the other.

The following are the kinship terms in use among the Shilluk :—

Wa, wia	Father, father's brother, father's father's father's son's son (paternal great grandfather's grandson). It is doubtful whether the father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband should correctly be called *wa*. When a man knew such relatives personally he would probably call them *wa* by courtesy, while if he did not they would be to him the husbands of his *waja* and *ma* and he would accordingly use descriptive terms. From politeness a man may also call his father-in-law (*ora*) *wa*.
Maiya	Mother, sometimes also used for husband's mother.
Wot (pl. *wöde*)	Son.
Nyara	Children.
Uwa	Brother (son of father), " father's " brother's son.
Nyiwa	Sister (daughter of father), " father's " brother's daughter.
Umia	Brother (son of mother), wife's brother as a polite form of address.
Nyimia	Sister (daughter of mother), wife's sister.
Ma	Mother's sister.
Uma	Son of *ma*.
Nyima	Daughter of *ma*.
Na	Mother's brother, mother's paternal grandfather's grandson.
Una	Son of *na*.
Nyina	Daughter of *na*.
Waja	Father's sister, husband's sister.
Uwaja	Father's sister's son.
Nywaja	Father's sister's daughter.
Mia	Father's brother's wife.
Oka	Sister's son.
Nyaka	Sister's daughter.
Kwa	Father's father, mother's father, father's father's brother, husband's father.
Wanga	Father's mother, mother's mother, husband's mother.
Kware	Son's children, daughter's children.
Ora	(m.s.) Wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister, wife's brother, daughter's husband, wife's brother's wife, sister's husband ; also the husband of all cousins, the wife's mother's mother, the mother of any *uwa*. (w.s.) Husband's *umia* and husband's *uma*.
Yura	The *uwa* of the husband ; sometimes used by men for wife of brother, but *cimada* is more correct.
Niaka[1]	Co-wife, husband's brother's wife.

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[1] This word must not be confused with *nyaka* " sister's daughter ". To the Shilluk the words were so different that they could not understand why we confused them. We have made a difference in spelling, but the difference—extremely difficult for the untrained ear to detect—may either be tonic or in the initial consonant, as there are three different *n* sounds in Shilluk.

Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the 601 addition of *ba* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Ba* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *reth*, *ci* for the wife of a commoner. Thus *ba wa* or *ci wa* are used for the wife of the *wa* (not the mother), *ba* or *ci na* for the wife of the *na*, *cimada* (from *mat*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal nyaka* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *ora* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *ora jalnywaja*, lit. " relative-by-marriage, husband-of-my-father's-sister's-daughter ".

Wa—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father [611] and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls " father's son ". Thus, as descent is patrilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are *wa* " father ", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, " grandfather ", while all those of the same generation are *uwa*, " father's sons ". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be " sons " ; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *wöde* (sons) ; the brother's sons are *umade*, " sons of the *mat*." The sister's sons (m.s.) are *oka*, the sister's daughters *nyaka* ; they belong to the clan of their father.

Maiya—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *uwa* are *na*, and those whom the mother calls *wa* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify [603] clan or ancestor. Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head averted. All the children of the mother's *uwa* are *una* and *nyina*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded to some extent as children of the mother's brother.

Ma—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother ; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *maiya*. Her children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *uma*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia.—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a dialectical form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk district. We heard it at Fenikang in circumstances when the meaning was quite definite.

Westermann gives *mayo-mai* and *ma-mek* for aunt,[1] without specifying 601
what is meant by this term, but it seems probable that he found on [114]
the Sobat the same nomenclature in use as we found at Fenikang and that *mayo-mai* corresponds to the word spelt *mia* here.

From the above it is clear that the Shilluk system, whether it be considered classificatory or not, recognizes clan relationship as well
as family relationship, and distinction according to generation. Clans [614]
are definitely patrilineal, and the terms used by a man present no anomalies. All men of a man's own generation in his clan are his *uwa*; his mother's clansmen of his own generation are his *una*. All men of his mother's generation whom she calls *uwa* are his *na*; from the point of function, however, there is a distinction—it is only the mother's father's son who is important as a *na*. For a man all his wife's clansmen are his *ora*; this is, however, a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's parents and a man and his wife's brother. The reciprocal to wife's brother (sister's husband) is used in a wide sense to include the husband of any " cousin "—*nyiwa*, *nyimia*, *nyima*, or *nywaja*. As will be seen later, the most important of these *ora* are the own sister's husband and the husband of the *nywaja*. A man calls *ora* the " parents-in-law " of all his *uwa*, and also the brothers of the wives of his *uwa*. When *ora* means " mother-in-law " it is used in the widest classificatory sense to include the wives of any man whom the wife calls " father ", as well as any woman who stands in that relationship (classificatory mother-in-law) to a man's *uwa* (examples will be given later). The wife's sister, however, is not *ora*, but the wife's brother's wife is.[2] Thus it may be seen that the *ora* cannot possibly belong to one clan but are the " mothers ", " fathers ", and " brothers-in-law " of a man in the wide classificatory sense of the terms mother, father, and brother.

When a woman speaks, the term *ora* has a much less wide significance. Her *ora* are only those " brothers " of her husband who are the sons of his mother and of his mother's sister. The term *ora* implies respect and ceremonial behaviour when used by either sex.

Yura.—This term requires special mention. It is applied by a woman only to the *uwa* of her husband. Correctly speaking it is only used by women to men, but it may also be used reciprocally. It is a peculiar term; at first sight it might be looked upon as derived from the same root as *ora*, but the meaning is entirely different, so this is improbable. *Ora* respect one another, and a breach of etiquette between them is a serious matter, but between *yura* there is no restraint and a woman may be the paramour of her *yura*, her husband's *uwa*. Also *uwa* may inherit each other's wives, so that *yura* may become legitimate spouses. The bearing of these facts on mother-in-law avoidance will be referred to later.

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[1] Op. cit., 290.

[2] The wife's brother's wife may merely be regarded as one of the wife's people and so an *ora*; but it must be noted that among some other African peoples the wife's brother's wife is potentially a " mother-in-law ", because a man has a right to her daughter as a secondary wife.

It may be said that the terms used by a man depend on his physiological connection with his mother and her legal bond to her husband, and hence to his father and his father's clan. The terms applied to all these people follow a logical system based on the fact that relationship to the mother is a biological one, while that to the father is sociological. The father is head of the household and is normally the physiological father, but if he should not be so it would make no difference, the mutual relationship would be the same and it would not affect inheritance. Further, a man belongs to his father's clan and all his father's clansmen are his own clansmen, thus among the cousins there is a great difference according to whether they are clansmen or not. Later, by marriage, a man sets up new relationships to his wife's relatives. All of these, except his wife's sister and the *yura*, are his *ora*, people to whom he must show respect, avoiding any behaviour that might lead to quarrels; he will never become familiar with any of them. His intimate friends will be chosen from among his clansmen. The relationship to the *yura* is dependent on that between *uwa* (clan-brothers), who stand in such close relationship that they have access to each others' wives.

An unmarried woman uses kinship terms in the same way as a man, but certain terms are used in an anomalous manner by a married woman. She calls her husband's sister *waja*, and her husband's father and mother *kwa* and *wanga* respectively. Two points are apparent in the anomalous use of these words. Thereby all persons are addressed by a term which ordinarily is applied to someone of an older generation; further, instead of being addressed as relatives by marriage they are addressed as own relatives. Thus towards three persons a woman uses terms that might have been used by her husband, but in each case these relatives are considered to belong to one generation higher than they really do. Opportunity did not arise to discuss this point with the Shilluk women; a simple explanation might

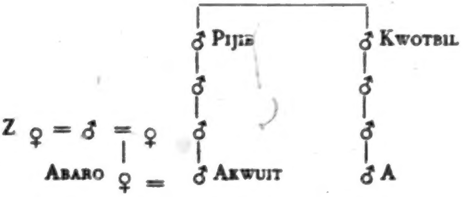
be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's 601
family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in
each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than
she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have
some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother [587]
are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered
disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's [837]
wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two
generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents
by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger
of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan [614]
after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms
employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that
in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and [851]
nyimia before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's
sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the
wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption
ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his [607]
wife's sister " sister " ; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and
if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos,
though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*.
In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may
marry her.

Everywhere the " in-law " relationship is one that requires much 606
tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by 607
means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid
upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted 593
that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not
avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in 606
importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk
country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied
that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to
meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law
he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully.
We did not find avoidance carried to the length described [114]
by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which
his mother-in-law dwells ; one informant, however, told us that a [583]
man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth
had been paid.

Among the late Dr. Rivers' notes is a case recorded at Goz Garri, north of the main Shilluk country, where—

> " not only was the village avoided, but the term mother-in-law had the most liberal interpretation I have ever known. The very wide extension of this taboo came out through a concrete case. I took a Shilluk to Goz Garri from Hillet Abbas. He was unmarried, and directly we landed he disappeared to the outskirts of the village and could not be persuaded to go into the village with me. The cause was the presence of the wife of the father of Abaro (not her actual mother), Abaro being the wife of Akwuit, whom the man called *uwa*. Akwuit was the great-grandson of Pijib, the half-brother of Kwotbil, the great-grandfather of the man, so that in our nomenclature a man has to avoid for life the stepmother of the wife of his third cousin. The reality of the avoidance was obvious, but I could not discover what would result if it were infringed, except a quarrel and the chance of a blow from the Shilluk club."



A called Akwuit *uwa* and avoided Z.

Although this behaviour seems so absurd to us, it is only the extreme application of the ceremonial etiquette due to the wife's mother. Its extension to the mother-in-law of the *uwa* will be apparent when rights of access and inheritance are considered. It is possible that the refusal to enter the village may have been due to this Shilluk exercising his rights of access and carrying on an intrigue with Abaro; it must be noticed that the man in question was not married. It seems improbable that a man would be obliged to avoid the villages of all the classificatory mothers-in-law of all his clansmen, as the restrictions of his movements would be intolerable, and it is possible that this case arose from special circumstances. But on stating this case to one of our informants at Fenikang, the wide signficance of the conception of the wife's mother seemed quite correct to him. He said that all the wives of the " fathers ", as well as all the actual mothers of all the wives of those men whom he called *uwa*, were *ora* to him and hence should be avoided. To him, however, this form of ceremonial behaviour did not necessitate the avoidance of the villages where these women lived. He volunteered the information that

potentially he was heir to the wives of any of his *uwa*, but that should 606
he try to claim the widow of one of his *uwa*, not having previously 587
avoided her mother, the latter would make much trouble about it and try to prevent him from marrying her daughter. He might perhaps be able to settle the matter by killing a sheep and getting some old man to act as peacemaker. The wide rights of access that the Shilluk have to the wives of certain of their clansmen and the wide sense in which inheritance of a "brother's" wife may be interpreted is thus intimately connected with their liberal interpretation of avoidance.

Avoidance of certain other women would not prevent a 606
man from entering the house and even eating there, so long as the woman absented herself and the man sat upon the bare ground. To sit upon a skin, which might be the woman's sleeping mat, would 576
be an intolerable breach of etiquette, for such an act might be taken to imply the possibility of sexual relations.

The wife's *mia*, i.e. her father's brother's wife, is also treated as an *ora* and avoided, but in a modified manner. We were able to observe a good example of this form of behaviour. We were working on the small steamer Culex when an old woman joined the group of informants. Our informant, Fakwang, a young married man, went quietly away. We persuaded him to return and he sat on the other side of the funnel so that he could neither see nor be seen by this woman, who was his wife's *mia* and hence his *ora*. Had she been his wife's mother nothing would have induced him to remain; as it was, he said, there would very probably be bad talk among the women about it and he might be reproached that his wife's *mia* had seen his "nakedness".

The wife's brother's wife is called *ora* and treated with the respect 606
due to a mother-in-law. How far she is regarded as a potential mother-in-law it would be difficult to say; there would be no objection 607
to marrying her daughter if the first wife died childless, but it did not appear to be customary. When told that among another people (the Ba Thonga) if a wife died childless the widower might claim his wife's brother's wife, or take her daughter in her stead, the custom was approved, though foreign to the Shilluk usage.[1]

Avoidance may be relaxed somewhat a few years after marriage, 606

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[1] Classing the wife's brother's wife with the mother-in-law is common in the Sudan: we found no reason for this, but think that given by the Nuer to Professor Evans-Pritchard may probably hold for other tribes (see p. 219). Should the wife's mother die, then her status may be held by the wife's brother's wife.

606 provided that a child has been born and survived. A man will give his wife's mother a goat, but even then he may only enter the house of the mother-in-law if the latter is very old. He may, however, speak to her and to her sister, and to his father-in-law, but still with head averted and with the utmost ceremony and politeness.

A man observes ceremonial avoidance of the wives of certain 602 of his own kinsmen. Thus, although he may enter the houses of his *uma* and *umia*, *uwaja* and *una*, *oka* and *kwa*, he cannot visit them as freely as he can the house of his *uwa*, because he must avoid the wives of all these relatives (while with the wives of his *uwa* he may be on quite familiar terms). When he meets any of these women out of doors he may greet them, but with averted head.

A man may salute the wife of his *na* but must not sit in the hut 604 with her; she will leave the hut when he enters, and if he should sit upon her mat or skin it would cause death either to himself, his *na*, or the wife of his *na*. A man can never inherit the widow of his *na* as can be done among some other Sudan tribes, e.g. the Bari.

We now pass to the male *ora* whom a man must avoid. A man 606 avoids his wife's father, but this avoidance may become less rigid after a time, just as the severity of the mother-in-law avoidance 607 decreases. His wife's brother is treated with respect but scarcely avoided. It was said that nothing would ever relax the avoidance [604] between a man and his wife's mother's brother (her *na*); they may never speak face to face. No payments are made to him, but should the 602 wife's *na* ask for anything it could not be refused; he might ask for a spear, a canoe, or a sheep, and it must be given, but he would never ask for cattle. The same privileges are claimed by the son of the *na*, the *una* of the wife. A characteristic example was seen in the case of Fakwang. He spent much time in fishing and gave large quantities of the fish he caught to his wife's parents, though the bride-wealth was already fully paid. When asked whether he had made or bought his canoe he looked surprised and said, " Have I not an *ora jalnywaja?* I took it from him." The canoe belonged to the husband of his father's sister's daughter. The father of Fakwang had been *na* to this girl and Fakwang as her *una* had inherited the privilege of the *na*, his father. The girl's husband is Fakwang's *ora* and it is he who " fears " Fakwang. The latter, however, shows respect to him and observes the avoidance rules; he did not fetch the canoe himself, but sent his *uwa* (in this instance his father's brother's son and great friend) to get it for him. It is said that a man and his *ora jalnywaja* might exchange presents of sheep, the gifts always being presented through a third party. 602

The husband of the sister, either the *nyimia* or the *nyiwa*, is treated in the same way as the husband of the *nyiwaja* and privileges can be claimed from him; the husband of the *nina* is also respected. Thus, though *ora* is a reciprocal term, the respect and deference shown is not mutual. The *ora* to whom deference is paid are the wife's male and female relatives. The most important of these are the mother, the father, the *na* and the *una*, the *uma* and the *umia* of the wife, all of whom are treated with ceremonial avoidance; the *uwa*, though respected, are not avoided. The *ora* from whom a man claims privileges are the husbands of sisters and cousins, especially the husbands of the *nyimia*, *nyima*, and *nywaja* from whose bride-wealth he has received cattle.

There is no avoidance between women; a woman does not avoid her husband's mother. 606

A man must kill a bull at the death feast of an *ora*, the father, mother or brother of his wife, and if he lives near his wife's family he kills a sheep on the day of the death. He must not see the corpse or assist at the burial. 607 764

From the above it will be seen that the conception of *ora* is far from simple. It might at first be supposed that anyone of the wife's clan was *ora* and must consequently be treated with respect, but this is not so; the wife's sister, who is naturally of her clan, is not *ora* and is treated with familiarity; the wife's father's sister (her *waja*) is not avoided. Unfortunately we did not ascertain how the latter was addressed, and do not know of any special duties of the *waja* towards her brother's daughter, though those to his son are important. But the wife's mother's brother (her *na*), who must belong to a different clan from the wife, is *ora*. 602

There seem to be four aspects of the *ora* relationship:—

(1) The primary attitude to the wife's mother, extended on classificatory lines.

(2) The attitude towards those relatives of the wife to whom she stands in some definite relationship.

(3) The attitude a man observes towards the husbands of his own female relatives. Relationships (2) and (3) are reciprocal but the behaviour pattern is not identical.

(4) A woman's attitude towards the relatives of her husband.

602 We may now consider these different aspects of the *ora* relationship in detail.

(1) The avoidance of the mother-in-law is so common a custom 606 in Africa as to be considered habitual. All the implications of the mother-in-law situation cannot be discussed here, but there are two elements in the custom which must be borne in mind—the respect due to the mother of the wife, and the feeling that there must be no hint of sexual impropriety with her. The Shilluk who encountered his wife's father's brother's wife on our steamer said that she would complain to other women that she had seen his " nakedness ". Among [241] a people like the Shilluk, who when they wear any garment only knot a cloth over the shoulder, leaving the genitals exposed, this objection seems remarkable, and does point to the sexual nature of 606 the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a ceremonial manner that 835 there can never be any possibility of sexual intercourse between himself and any woman whom he treats as mother-in-law, he leaves open an approach to her daughter. If a young Shilluk, who has not yet collected sufficient cattle to marry, desires to exercise his right and consort with the wife of one of his *uwa*, he must treat her mother with respect as though he were the actual husband, and if he has not previously adopted this attitude trouble may arise. Or it may be that he wishes to take the widow of one of his *uwa* as a wife; if he has previously respected the mother-in-law of that *uwa* the way is open, if not, she will make objections which may or may not be overcome by gifts.

606 It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *uwa* with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

606 As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It 607 is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

606 (2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father 607 and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may
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complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride- 606
wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should she 607
die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered 583
as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than
as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's *na* and his son both receive
part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan [604]
they also are *ora*. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is
by no means a common custom (and is not practised by the Dinka).
It appears to be correlated to the fact that they receive some of the
cattle of the bride-wealth.

(3) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the 607
converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful
behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, 583
he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He
receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and
certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them.

(4) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and 607
his mother's sister's sons as her *ora*. She avoids them strictly; any
hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the nature 835
of the avoidance is sexual, and that by means of its observance the
possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband
stand in sharp distinction to all others.

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship 607
is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The
wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may
always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as
a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give
the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry [595]
all the *umia* of his wife. The wives of the *uwa* are not *ora*; the wives
of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom 602
sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not— 835
and to most of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all
those clansmen called either *wa* or *uwa* belong to the former class,
but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause
death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the
second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as
a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these
relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or
skin of the woman. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided
ceremoniously.

The omissions from the "in-law" category are equally important
606 from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's
603 parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kware*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated
602 in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *uwa*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so
583 long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship
[582] can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested
in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter,
for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle
he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's
sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how
can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters?
[593 A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own
sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour.
626 The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle
583 to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is
paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately
586 distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus
a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable.
607 Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference 607
to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges
from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands
politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show
much zeal in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not
absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" [584]
relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started;
the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his
future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to
break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman 607
persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride-
wealth die the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, 586
and Hofmayr states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages
are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1]
There are thus abundant reasons why the bridegroom should seek
to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his correct
behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Heasty states that
it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife
or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. 883
The former sleep in the cattle byres (*luak*). When there are several
unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that
happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together;
such a house will be called *odwaman*. Their boy friends will come by 883
night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom
imposes any restrictions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible 584
boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by 836
blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and
it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hofmayr states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the meetings must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *nya dey cuan*, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

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[1] Op. cit., 293.

581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the
amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and
her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her
from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against
forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle.
582 The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage,
and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

584 After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father,
after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is
prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and
591 feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the
husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of
476 his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated
561 during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we
gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was
584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place
836 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl
leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was
for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said
seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's
village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house,
when they would spend the night in some other house in the village.
The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more,
the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; 585
in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom 585
ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that
this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* 604
(father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings.

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays 851
a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents'
house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it [844]
to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take
to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and [273]
grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically 583
as follows:—

Dok num, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attracted to his betrothed.

Diek num, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam num, spears and other goods.

The *dok num* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

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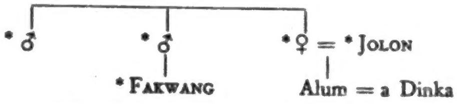
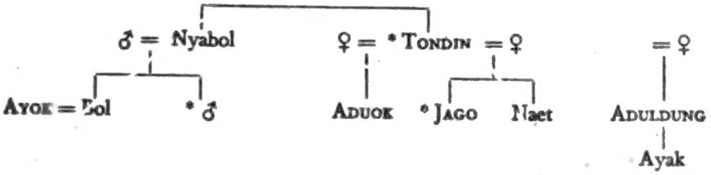
[1] Op. cit., 290 et seq.

583 Seventeen cows were paid by his Dinka son-in-law to one Jolon on the marriage of his daughter Alum. Of these his wife kept four, one of her brothers (the *na* of the girl) took four, and another brother two; the remaining seven Jolon took, but he had to give four to his wife's brother's son. Jolon had no son of his own, but if he had had one it would have been his duty to reserve some of the cattle from his daughter's bride-wealth for her brother's marriage. Thus of the seventeen head of cattle, ten went directly to the girl's mother's family, four to the mother, and only three to the father.



* Indicates persons who received cattle.

The cattle of the bride-wealth provided for another girl, called Bol (twin), were distributed as follows: two cows went to her brother (her father being dead), her mother's brother (the girl's *na*) took three bulls, and his son (the girl's *una*) had three bulls and two cows. These were given to him by the girl's mother, his *waja*.



When Naet marries all the cattle will go to her brother Jago, because she has no *na*. Jago and his father might share the cattle, but actually the younger man will get them all, or hopes to, because his father already has three wives and Jago is waiting to get married. None of these cattle will be saved for the youngest brother, Aduok (who is only nine), because he will get some cattle from the bride-wealth of his eldest brother's daughter, Ayak (aged five).

[604] It will be seen from these examples that though the term *na* can be used in a classificatory sense, with regard to the bride-wealth this aspect of the relationship is not considered. Thus the cattle from the bride-wealth due to the *na* are given to the mother's brothers or her sons, not to any *uwa* of the mother.

The *diek num* consists of any number of sheep, from seven upwards, 583
and these are taken by the bride's brother (*umia*). If the bride has no full brother they are divided amongst her *uwa*, her father's brother's sons, and after them her *uwa* who are her clansmen.

The *jam num* consists of four hoes, two fish spears, four spears (two large and two small), a basketful of tobacco and a bundle of firewood. The *jam num* is kept by the parents and is not shared with other relatives.

In times of stress, as during the *mahdia* or when cattle have been scarce for any other reason, whole or part of the bride-wealth may be deferred. The debt is not, however, cancelled; the husband may frequently wait until he receives bride-wealth for a daughter of the marriage, when he will give the original number of cattle agreed for his wife to her father or his next of kin.

If a married woman dies without leaving a child, the husband 586
demands back the cattle of the bride-wealth from the father. If his wife leaves him he will demand both the sheep and the hoes and spears; the tobacco and fish are gone, so he will not ask for them,
but if he were very angry he might even do that, though such [626]
behaviour would generally be despised. Yangjok, a chief of Tonga, stated in court that if a woman leaves her husband all the bride-wealth should be returned except one bullock, but if the wife is pregnant when she leaves the husband one cow and one bull are kept by her people.

It seems that, on the whole, divorce is amicably arranged, as a 586
man usually only seeks divorce if his wife has left him for another man,
in which case the latter would have to hand over bride-wealth to her 587
father, who would return the original bride-wealth to the first husband. If, however, there were another daughter of suitable age the husband might take her. If a man should try to return his wife because she 586
was barren a more difficult situation would arise.[1] Such a case would probably be taken before the *reth* and judgment might be given that all except two cows should be returned. Probably before the case came up the husband would have tried to steal the cows from his father-in-law.

A case was recorded of a girl who was betrothed as a child to a man 584
who contracted venereal disease. One cow of the bride-wealth

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[1] Hofmayr states that before deciding that a woman is barren the husband would let her [842]
cohabit with one of his *uwa*, and the *ajuago* would also be called in to administer medicine (op. cit., 276).

584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow
593 up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

848 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

515 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

766 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time
582 of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this 766
the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later 582
she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle
are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom 835
he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his
father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He
may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except [595]
his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father
will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to
another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants
could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely
it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when
he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man 835
said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was
away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that 578
would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is
all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger
he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was
exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's
brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made
no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union [851]
always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging
to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, 835
oka or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was
believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states
that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in
the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband 843
—for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' [833]
house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband
and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2]
while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman 833
to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually 843
supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

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[1] Op. cit., 293.

[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.

[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

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843 to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain
whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only
for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be
maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during
[844] lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about
his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

844 An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the
umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth[1]
outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the
afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed
person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action
[841] was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman
from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the mid-
846 wife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make
853 confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should
die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers,
as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time
before marriage.

851 The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who
will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid
[847] (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into
the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except
[846] on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the
first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At
the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth
to form a mat for the infant.

553 Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident
that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an
ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence
seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout
life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name
later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names
play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among
the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually
adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

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[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.

[2] Op. cit., 276.

[3] Op. cit., xxxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish 553
to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally " children 845
of God " ; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next
child born after twins is called Ñabol.

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is 593
no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and
may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers 605
them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their
uwa (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and
ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two
sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters,
but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent
the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when
young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one
another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja*
to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed
that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing
together. As women go to live in the *gol'* of their husbands, the
children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so
that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their 604
mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives
a boy his first spear ; he also has a right to some of the cattle given
as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence
her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking,
married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na*
persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka
because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though 428
the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth,
inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his
sister's children ; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the
bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's
daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle 431
when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation.
At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice
the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his
means.

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle 583

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[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

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604 to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle
for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always
give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We
were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be
poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the
lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets
a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

561 We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes
or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution
was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither
304 knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be
[881] regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal
family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked
[565] out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that
the lower milk incisors are taken out—or the young teeth may be
burnt away—in babies so young that the teeth may not have come
through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners,
lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are
removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents'
house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could
not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here
[683] we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this
refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old
days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two
304 or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young
881 stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly
enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man
[305] who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer
to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term,
881 and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go
883 to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances.
It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more
as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance
becomes an important occupation with great social significance,
for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man.
[561] Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that
they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

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[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

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grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, 883
e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred
in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made 304
on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses
above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance
but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be
admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, 262
which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are 833
dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, [853]
though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past
the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk [888]
them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that [857]
he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure,
or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them [231]
to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child
who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he
returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food,
and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual
relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does
not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty
could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn
by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together.
The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, 543
but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, 264
and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her
friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may
sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple
do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put [415]
over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman
might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or
drinking.

CHAPTER III

SHILLUK (CONTD.); OTHER SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

RELIGION

771 THERE are present three important and clearly defined elements in
776 the religion of the Shilluk, viz.:—

1. The recognition and somewhat limited worship of a god, Juok.
2. The cult of Nyakang and the dead kings of the Shilluk (ultimately reducible to the cult of Nyakang, since he is incarnate in every king).
3. The cult of ancestor spirits other than that of Nyakang.

We shall discuss these in the above order, but must first point out that besides these outstanding features of his religion the Shilluk believes in various more or less anthropomorphic but non-human beings dwelling in bush and river, the most important of these being the river-people, with whom are associated herds of supernatural river-cattle.

The word *juok*, or some dialectical modification, occurs in all the
171 Nilotic languages as well as in some others, e.g. Lotuko. It always
776 connotes something in the nature of god, spirit, or ghost, but its practical meaning in one language may be quite different from that in a neighbouring tongue, while identical meanings in two languages may have very different values since a particular connotation of the word common to two peoples may refer either to an important or to an entirely subsidiary element in their religious beliefs.[1]

776 Juok is formless and invisible, and, like the air, is everywhere at once. He is far above Nyakang (in whose cult the Shilluk religion
762 centres) and men alike; nevertheless it is principally through Nyakang that men approach him, performing the sacrifices to Nyakang which cause him to move Juok to send rain. There are, however, prayers to Juok, and the word Juok occurs in many greetings, e.g. *Yimiti*

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[1] These points may be summarily illustrated by comparing Shilluk, Dinka, and Acholi. In Shilluk, Juok though associated with the firmament is, apart from Nyakang, of comparatively little practical importance in daily life; to the Dinka *jok* are the mighty dead, appealed to on almost every occasion of difficulty or danger, while among both Shilluk and Acholi there are certain spirits of the bush known as *juok tim* who, greatly feared among the Acholi, are little regarded by the Shilluk. For an excellent discussion of the significance of the word *juok* see Hofmayr, op. cit., 185–208.

Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, 776
"Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with 782
Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer
without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag).
Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes:
"They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor,"[1] and
gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, [539]
> and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created,
> people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to
> assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the
> river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you
> and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued
> all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go
> to God and you . . ."[2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok
only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also
invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized [773]
as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures.
The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such
dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal
translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokatang), God the Protector [539]
> (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies
> so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like
> crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song
> composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears,
> spear thrusts are of Juok."[3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There 776
is an expression *pan Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the
opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely [775]
associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding
pan Juok as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after
many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a [753]
general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name),
this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal
attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator,
perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

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[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283. [113]
[2] Loc. cit.
[3] Op. cit., 197–201.

776 a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

776 771 196 Mr. Heasty writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—

> "He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

776 [538] [173] Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he did not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that to many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the "spirit of Nyakang", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says "Nyakang", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

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[1] Op. cit., 43, 44.

classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may 776
be immanent or with which he is associated.

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows:—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them. [778]

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang. 776

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members. 775

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) 776
in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and 778
Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—
of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts— 346
together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *ludi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *ludi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang.

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the 793
cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bareth* (lit. "king's wife"). 767
This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children[1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices, [158]

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[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bareth* (op. cit., 140). [644]

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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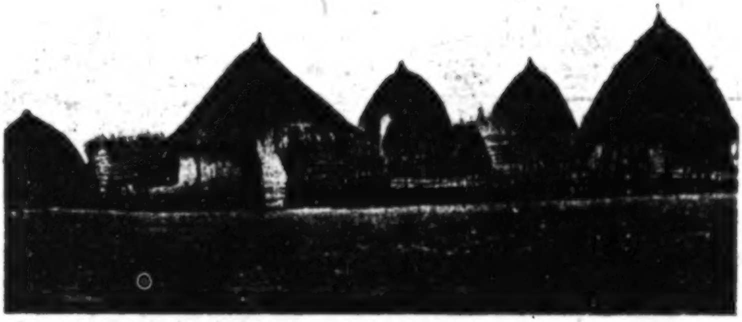
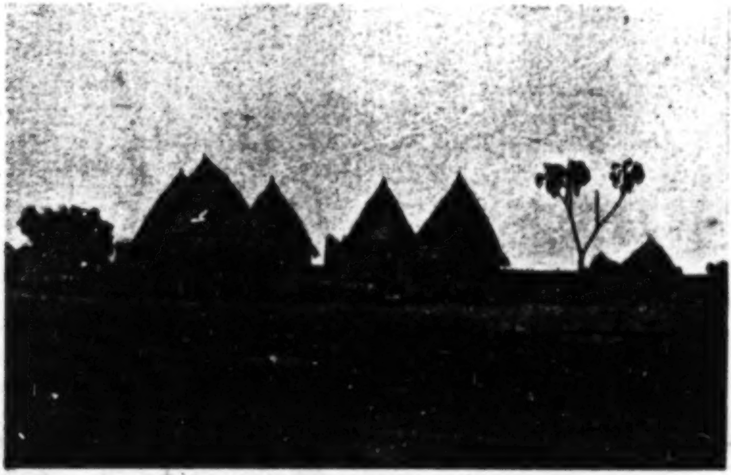
PLATE VII



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1924

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793 and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only
767 the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are
killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the
[292 *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also
301] wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh
of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine;
they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice,
which they cast into the river.

778 The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain
sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and
346 his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang
shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was
thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough
[532] paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as
representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had
any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number
[114] of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as
elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within
[237] there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon.
Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is
in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this
hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number
of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine,
used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as
offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with
the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally
large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited
Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this
793 time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care
778 of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow
of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine.
She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she
[567] kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for
her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We
are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According
[644 to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies,
843] but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed,
improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing
a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those
of the shrine attendants as well as the village
beasts,

793
778 of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

793 The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the
778 upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and
614 probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine
831 and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans
before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter
the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman
he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all
probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the
shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief
[613] (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that
may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial,
had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was,
however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial,
[156] though how much this may have been due to force of character could
not be determined.

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346 The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries [illegible] Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which
[643 Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used
192] of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred
hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*thom*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

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[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagoja and Kajo respectively.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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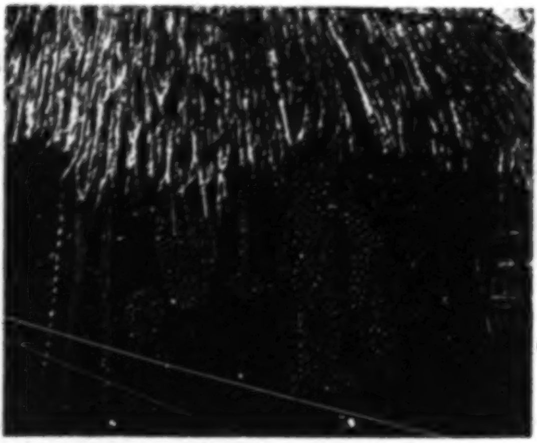
PLATE VIII

Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910, Kwayo (Dewad)

[532]



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang, wall-paintings

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778 346 gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. 776 This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang 692 heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *ludi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

782 796 The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

805 1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).

2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging 643 to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *bareth* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *bareth*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

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796 the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for
this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should
[643] himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description
is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the
theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the
animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *bareth* to
pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

[115] We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important
of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain
ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kengo
Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the
[793] shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *bareth
Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine
enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of
old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre
of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding
spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising
Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock
is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours
water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand,
spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is
[787] speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately
fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is
a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine
of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in
theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where
he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was
experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim
in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it
[831] falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women
and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse
during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones,
which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one
forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of
the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community.
The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang,
where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are
killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

782 the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the
bareth Nyakang. This is ground and made into porridge with water
796 brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

643 There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and
782 also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *bareth*.

755 When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest
782 shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

782 We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December, 1921, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made
796 after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete :—

[115] When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1921, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *zagharit*.
[574] Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony its

performance was delayed, the difficulty being the provision of a bull 782 796
for the sacrifice. It was the duty of the district chief, Dienjok of
the Golobogu clan, to provide the sacrifice, but as a certain man from [634]
the village of Buru owed him a bull he was endeavouring to obtain
this and to kill it for the ceremony instead of taking one from his own
herd. How long negotiations might have continued it is impossible
to say, for Dienjok, though a chief, was old and feeble and seemed to 782
have little authority in his district. After about a fortnight we 793
announced our intention of leaving, but Aker begged us to remain,
and expressed great regret that we should go before the ceremony. 796
We naturally supposed this protest to be formal, and that the village
was merely waiting for us to leave in order to perform the sacrifice;
however we went with her to the village of Nyelwal where the chief
and his assistant and a few old men were assembled. Here Aker
harangued the men, frequently making marks on the ground and
breaking off pieces of grass and laying them down one by one by way
of emphasis and explanation. The conference lasted a long time and
she begged us to have patience, seeming certain that she must gain
her way. We cannot say how far she went into the matter of the [643]
debt from Buru, or if at any time she had any official voice in the
affair, but she undoubtedly had the authority of the king behind her
and she used it freely. Towards the end of the conference the men's
tones had changed completely. Aker announced to us that the
ceremony would take place the next day and that Dienjok would
provide the bull.

At dawn next morning the drums were beaten for about half an hour. At 8 a.m. there were no signs of festivity in the village, and women, including Aker's servants, were still at work on the shrine enclosure, smoothing and plastering and removing the smallest weeds. Yet by 2 p.m. probably more than 500 people had assembled and dancing had begun. In the centre of the open spaces to the west of the shrine a large and a small drum were being beaten, the dancers surging in spirals round and away from these. Numbers of older men and women were sitting near the huts on the edge of the dancing-ground, and hundreds of spears were tilted against the thatches, for though all the men came to the village carrying their spears no one held one during the ceremony except Aker, who carried in her left hand a narrow pointed spear, in her right a whip with a double lash, and wore round her head a fringe of black goat-hair. Her cloth was knotted over the left shoulder in correct masculine style. She

782 danced alone inside the enclosure of the shrine, and occasionally came
793 out and danced round outside it, her movements resembling those of
the men rather than the women dancers. Tune and rhythm were
796 frequently changed, and it was obvious that the figures were traditional.
A number of young men wore leopard and other skins
suspended from the waist and hanging behind, almost all had decorated
anklets and armlets of different kinds, belts of disc beads were worn
round the waist, and plumes suspended from the forearms. Head-dresses
varied a good deal; the characteristic "Tam o' Shanter",
which we remembered as the dominant fashion for young warriors
ten years earlier, was only worn by a few, the more popular style
apparently being a flat, circular mass of felted hair on either side of
the head; a great number had the head shaved and wore a wig or
crown of sheep's wool. They carried millet or flowery grass stalks,
some had clubs and parrying shields, and the ceremonial bow-derivative
covered with strips of metal, called *dang*. Groups of
children, decked in whatever finery they could get, took part in the
[293] dance, solemnly imitating their elders. The women, who danced
in separate contingents, all carried hippo-hide whips, and, more
frequently than the men, they left the large dancing-ground and
passed in procession round the outside of the shrine enclosure.
Whenever the drum ceased the dancing stopped immediately, and
the clear note of a kudu horn trumpet could be heard.

After the dancing had continued for some hours Aker was noticed waiting in the *ludi* with a number of men—we believe there were eight—all carrying spears. These were the spears of Nyakang, which had just been brought forth from the hut Kwayo; one large spearhead was covered by a sheath. A bull was led across the dancing-ground and then released, when it sauntered into the shrine enclosure and wandered about unmolested. Aker, carrying her spear, danced within the enclosure, and then left it, and stepping high, danced round the drum, while the men went alone to the khor to wash the spears. The bull was now caught and held outside the entrance to the shrine. Almost before we realized that anything was happening—very quickly, yet without any apparent hurry or confusion—all the guests departed, and the dancing ground was all but deserted; besides Aker and a small group of chiefs and elders, only members of the Golobogu and Pameiti clans remained in the vicinity of the shrine. These men now sat in a row while Aker and Ayurial stood beside the bull, which was held on each side by ropes, a man grasping its tail. One by one

the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; 782
these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer 793
from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, 796
brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that [428]
Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with 776
a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some 775
reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile 825

776 as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations
775 of Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals.
825 Nyakang, Dag, and Nyadwai all appear as a white bird called *okak*,
or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds "long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *red*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); so "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or attracts someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yur Adodit takes the form of an insect called *akwan* (Ar. *gamal en nebi*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwan* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yur Adodit, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The *jago*, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yur Adodit. Col told us that the appearance of Yur Adodit in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

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773] [1] According to an account, perhaps of Anuak origin or at least showing Anuak influence, collected by the Rev. J. K. Griffin on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning Juok created a great white cow, Deung Adok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a man child, whose grandchild, Ukwa, married two sisters, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's saurian attributes (*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1906, 197).

information from Col and his people. According to Banholzer 776
(quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the 775
messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined 825
insect was a larval mantis.

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing 776
near the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect 778
of the cult of Nyakang. This esteem is not remarkable, for the
Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any 824
tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground becomes to some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a "divine king", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2]

Possession by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-man (*ajuago*).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced 776
by the belief in the saurian attributes of the ancestors of Nyakang, 775
and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared,
as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other 825
crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may assume human form and at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her

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[1] Op. cit., 51.

[2] As an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose stump was standing in 1910 near the grave of Nyadwai, the twelfth king; if anyone had burned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were collected and carried to the river, just as are the bones of certain sacrifices. There was in 1910 no shrine over the grave of Nyadwai, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present native village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a fence round it, and a young tree that had appeared at some distance from the stump of the old tree was regarded with respect. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyadwai, since it was admitted that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluk at one time or another spoke of Nyadwai being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

PLATE IX

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Dura-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

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Fenikang, shrine to Deng

[face p. [illegible]

776

775 victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives.
825 Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for
fire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called
776 Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river.
782 Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular develop-
825 ment, and by the fact that she " eats " (mouths) her words. That the
river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing
to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang,
or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the
[753] kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had " possessed " a man
causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent
sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into
[787] the river.

[553] Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant
776 has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo,
782 if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes
betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding
ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters
a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the
contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to
the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice
are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in
the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared
for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or
four days.[2]

776 There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined
794 to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents
171 a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we
both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is,
[778] as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said
to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine
at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been
possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron
[782] bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk,
who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the
possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession
by their *ror* (kings).

776 We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e.
creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

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[1] Op. cit., 277.

[2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 292.

776 and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main
unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more
776 considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups
773 of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-
men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows
whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their
original home in the river.

643 It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart
769 from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be
776 remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of
Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines
is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

778 Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are
called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the
764 word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang
643 in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in
[346] ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of
these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*,
[793] viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men,
his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the
requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found,
old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king.
Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the
shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines.
[644] A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may
enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its
floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters.
It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other
dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the
[787] spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream
and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of
the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as
a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of
[782] the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus,
when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack
the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone
in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will
immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

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[198 643] [1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

643
778 of Nyakang, if Nyakang has appeared, or to the grave shrine of the
764 appropriate king if the dreamer has seen one of the later Shilluk
kings. The bullock is killed and the cow added to the herd belonging
to the shrine.

It is usual for the harvest ceremony (already alluded to on p. 80) to be performed at the royal grave shrines as well as at the shrines of Nyakang, though it is recognized that this is not absolutely necessary. Again, each king soon after his installation sends or should send presents to the grave shrines of his predecessors, treating these in the same way as he treats the shrines of Nyakang, though the presents need not be so lavish. So, too, sick folk send animals to be sacrificed as offerings at the shrines of their kings, just as they do to the shrines of Nyakang.

771 At this point it will be convenient to anticipate the conclusions
to which the next few pages will lead, and point out that the actual
643 working religion of the Shilluk is the cult of Nyakang, depending upon the acceptance of the following beliefs: (1) the immanence in each king (*reth*) of Nyakang, (2) the conviction that the king must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should wither in the fields, and men, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers. It follows that the *reth* of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings", and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.

643 Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *reth*. According to these, any royal son (*nyireth*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his
[644] friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was represented as passing the night in constant

watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or 643
standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at
last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence,
broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be
a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help.

Though many commoners will give some such account there is [173]
no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened
during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable
that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that
once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions
outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet
on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due,
as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day,
and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial
of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been 643
assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the
fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well- 565
informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed [173]
ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king,
was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual
killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said
that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after
which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled.
The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health [886]
of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is
regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this [173]
there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives
would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect;
the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's short-
comings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth*
his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by
spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies
sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt 173
that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or 643
possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then
walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of
starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given
up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*,

173 who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that
643 he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no
account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

643 For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

766 We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances
the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be
buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered
that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although
it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt
that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village
in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some
months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded
so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken
down by the *ororo*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and
of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the
sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two
others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new
shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony
[782 was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he
778] describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims
were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells,
beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river
and sunk.[1]

114 The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

643 The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 136.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. ii, Khartoum, 1911; P. Munro, "Installation of the Ret. Chol (King of the Shilluks)": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 145–52; Hofmayr, op. cit., 145–50. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Papit, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a text dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

this time no big dances or festivities should be held. Any small 643
matters arising are dealt with by the most important chiefs, but great
affairs must stand over until the appointment of the new king. Meanwhile,
the selection of the new king has been going forward;
theoretically this is in the hands of the chiefs of the ten districts into [662]
which the Shilluk territory is divided, but unofficially many give
advice, and there is much intrigue. How far the choice is thought 643
to be inspired is uncertain, but certain portents might occur if the 787
wrong man were chosen, e.g. the effigy of Nyakang, to be described
immediately, might become too heavy to be moved, while a method
of selection has been described which may be regarded as indicating
supernatural sanction. As many small stones as there are candidates
are thrown into a fire, and each stone is given a name, the stone of the
chosen candidate remaining after the others have burst out of the fire;
or, according to another account, the kingship is determined by the
colour the stones assume—red (for cattle) or white (for plentiful
crops) or red and white. The decision is come to secretly. One 643
of the district chiefs then seeks the king-elect in his village by night 796
and bids him to single combat, really a sham fight; only when he
has shown his mettle does the chief signify to him that he has been
chosen as sovereign. The king-elect should remain in his village
until all is ready for his installation.

Meanwhile messengers have been sent to Akurwa, near the northern limit of the Shilluk country, to bid the Akurwa people bring the sacred four-legged stool from the shrine of Nyakang in their village, and also the effigy called "Nyakang", which is kept wrapped in the common cotton cloth of the Sudan. The effigy, with that of his son Dag, and the sacred stool, are carried southwards towards Fashoda; each night the effigy is placed upon the stool, but by day the objects are borne upon men's shoulders, and as they march the men sing songs commemorating Nyakang and his deeds.[1] The party bearing the sacred objects may seize anything they like on the way, but it seems that their wants are so freely provided for in the villages they pass that they scarcely exercise their prerogative.

As the procession approaches Fashoda the king-elect, with the *ororo*, betakes himself to Debalo village, which he enters treading upon a leopard skin spread for that purpose, and goes directly to a hut

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[1] Nyakang appears in a dream to one of the *bareth* of the Akurwa shrine and prescribes the songs to be sung; no doubt among these will be some of those recorded by Hofmayr, op. cit., 403, et seq.

643 796 specially built for him. Here he should stay for about a month (Papit, the present king, stayed only four nights), spending much time in communion with Nyakang, giving many presents though receiving few, and abundantly exercising his right of amnesty.

[372] A ceremonial fire is made by friction, *ororo* and *kwareth* working together, from which brands are taken—by the *ororo* to start a fire in front of the hut in which the king is staying, by the *kwareth* for a fire in the centre of the village, and by commoners for a fire in a millet field near the king's hut. The purpose of these fires—we quote verbatim from Mr. Heasty's letter—is "to keep anyone from taking the king's life before he is crowned". It is generally said that a brand from one of these fires is carried to Fashoda, but this is not so; Mr. Heasty discovered that the fire-sticks (one an old spear-handle) are carefully wrapped up and taken to Fashoda by the *ororo*, together with offerings of cattle. After the king has reached Fashoda all the fires in the village are put out; a cow is taken to the house of Nyakang as offering, together with the fire-sticks, and by means of the latter a new fire is kindled by the *ororo* and *kwareth*. [787] If this starts quickly it is a good omen and the king will live long; if the fire is long in kindling it is a sign that Nyakang is not well pleased with the new king and that his reign is likely to be short and troubled.

[492] The king-elect is escorted to Fashoda riding a black ox; on reaching the *khor* nearby he stops and awaits the arrival of the party from Akurwa, now swollen to a procession, who approach singing ancient sacred songs. From now on, until the entry to Fashoda, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow details of the ceremony. Mr. Munro's account is most valuable, and is printed as an Appendix, but he points out that the crowd was so dense that he could not see everything. Probably a black ox is sacrificed before the khor (about a quarter of a mile from Fashoda) is crossed, and it seems that there is something in the nature of a sham fight between the party surrounding the king-elect and the folk bringing the effigy of Nyakang from Akurwa. The khor is at last crossed, it being important that the king-elect should not wet his feet, and it appears that there is now a substantial fusion of the two parties—perhaps after a further scuffle. The king-elect, with "Nyakang" near to him, moves forward to Fashoda, and as he does so he treads successively on a sheep lying bound on the ground, on an ox, and in former days on an old man who had been caught by the *ororo* and kept bound and fasting for twenty-four

hours in the shrine of Nyakang; this old man was smeared with flour, and was so betrodden by the multitude that he usually succumbed.[1] Now, or perhaps at an earlier stage of the ceremony, a girl of about ten is presented to the king-elect by men of *kwa* Okal, a clan traditionally descended from the old inhabitants of the land who became the friends and dependents of Nyakang.[2] 643 796

At last the king-elect enters Fashoda, *ororo* on either side of him, and is taken to the shrine of Nyakang, in front of which, its legs held by the *ororo*, is the sacred four-legged stool brought from Akurwa. Upon this is placed the effigy of Nyakang, presumably held in place by an *ororo*; these sacred objects are shielded from the general view by a sheet of cotton cloth held in front and at the sides, the shrine forming a screen behind them. Within the enclosed area are certainly the king-elect, the *nya kwer*, and the man holding "Nyakang"; whether there are others is uncertain. According to one account the king-elect, wrapped in a cowhide, is laid on the ground on a leopard skin in front of Nyakang; he clasps a drum, and the whole assembly beseeches the spirit of Nyakang to protect and bless the new ruler. The *ororo* crouch behind the king, while women, singing and dancing, encircle the recumbent group. Whether these details are accurate or not it is certain that after a short time the statue of Nyakang is withdrawn by the *ororo* from the stool, on which the king now seats himself, remaining motionless in prayer and communion with his ancestors for perhaps a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile water is heated in the specially built temporary "homestead"—consisting we believe of three huts—into which the king will withdraw when he retires from the shrine of Nyakang, and certain of the king's wives wash his feet with hot and with cold water, in order that he may be neither too "cold" nor too "hot" with his people. A bull provided by the *kwa* Ajol has been led before the door of the king's special

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[1] There is obviously more ceremonial in connection with this man than we have indicated, or else there were two human sacrifices, but details were not easy to elicit. Aker informed us that the victim would be lying unbound when the king stepped over him, touching him with his right foot as he did so, for if this were not done the country would sicken and fail. This took place near the shrine of Nyakang, apparently as the king approached the sacred stool; the "great ones"—including certainly the *jang duong*—assembled near the shrine and each spat into a bowl of porridge, which was then eaten by the victim, who was left exposed, tied up—or perhaps pegged out—until dead, though it was not expected that he would die the same night. It was said that the victim was not selected from any special clan or place. [782]

[2] This girl, known as the *nya kwer*, attends the king-elect during the ceremonies of installation and later is given in marriage—he does not marry her himself—according to his wishes. *Kwa* Okal formerly received a large payment in spears and cattle for providing this girl. Whether she at one time was taken to wife by the king and in any way resembled the *dak ker* of the Acholi is a matter for future investigators. [644]

643 796 homestead, and is speared by an *ororo* after the king has marked it with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

[775] This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nya kwer*, enters the homestead, where he should remain some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates.

On the tenth night the king is taken by the *ororo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Aturwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasizing his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *ororo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

771 The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For [171] while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it [781] once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have

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[1] Papit, the present king, left his temporary homestead on the third night and came down from his palace on the mound the next morning. For a rather confused account of what happened then, given to Mr. Munro by an Egyptian officer—not apparently himself an eye-witness—see Mr. Munro's article (our Appendix) already quoted.

We have

already referred to *pan Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be 771
reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic 775
element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *cen*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi.

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our 771
limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly 769
be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his [114]
descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence [539
of prayer to the ancestors:— 782]

tere kwaje mayegen
"The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
tere kwaje tiengen
"The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of 752
the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, 775
but the Shilluk expression, *tong tieng pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok 761
into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Banholtzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and [769]
part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5]

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[1] Op. cit., 230. [2] Op. cit., 229. [3] Op. cit., 230. [4] Loc. cit.

[5] Oyler records that many Shilluk "take an offering of the first *fruits* to the grave of an ancestor, usually the father. . . . The grain is made into a sort of batter and poured out on the grave. The man then says that he has given his father a taste" ("Nikawng's place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 286). But in another passage Oyler clearly shows an association of the ancestral spirit with Juok (for we assume that "God" is a translation of "Juok"): ". . . When prayer is to be offered to the spirit of a dead person, a female sheep is brought to the grave. If the person making the prayer is not the son of the

769 Mr. Heasty, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference
778 between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's home to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it
782 undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally erected with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 95), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and
782 woman (p. 92). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret
789 sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual
643 prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war.
[741] According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

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deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep urinates]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

[539] "While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example :—

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard yours." (Op. cit., 284-5.)

the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be 782 789
presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done 643
by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps [826]
with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e.
to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* 754
—literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, 756
who generally speaking works for the good of the community
(though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be
reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-
man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially
in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though 754
men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands [826]
tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition
is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this [847]
can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within
a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the
infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is
to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be
injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated
with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially
a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy
the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions,
especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the
feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated [826]
with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd
and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty
in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated
with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye
are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye
—largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other 755
most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

> "When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

---

[1] Op. cit., 154-6.

755 is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect."[1]

756 The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits
of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang
775 might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because
[793] of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago*
alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Boc (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognized that he is not truly possessed.

756 We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

---

[113] [1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 123.

wives only during the dark half of the month.[1] We discussed this matter with Aker in 1921. When asked whether a married woman who became an *ajuago* would stay with her husband, Aker, with a pantomime of horror, replied that this would be impossible and that she must go and live in another house; if her husband approached her she would die. Nor should she have anything to do with other men. A male *ajuago* who wants children arranges for some other man to have intercourse with his wife, i.e. all *ajuago* live celibate lives, indeed a male *ajuago* may give his cattle to a relative avowedly because he no longer requires them to procure a wife. It was explained that he would be physically afraid of approaching a woman, "the body shrinks" being a literal translation of the Arabic words used by our interpreter. The outward signs of possession were said to be specially strong with the waxing moon, weak or absent with the

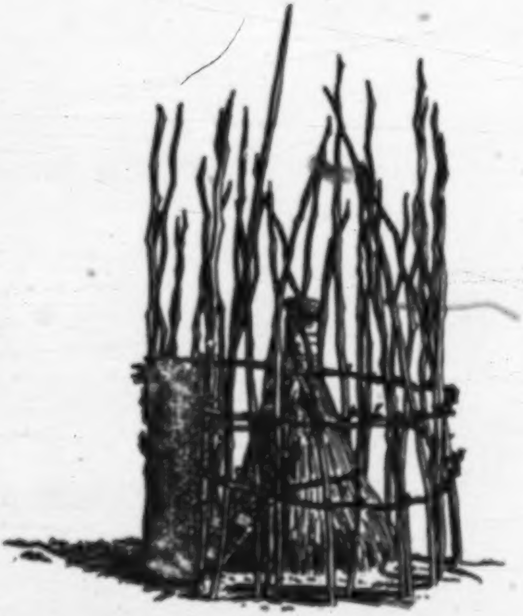

FIG. 9. Spirit hut.

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[1] Seligman, op. cit., 232

756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ajuago* might
then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into
a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected
when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host.
[643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness
in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we
inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases,
[751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag,
wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small
pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were
considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from
the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is
used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties
are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear,
perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name
is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a
shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early
kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and
773 kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of
Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious
cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and
from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described
by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

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[1] Op. cit., xliii.

[2] Op. cit., xliv.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple 774 nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the [775] *cen* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing.

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much 763 suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face 764 is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in [177] the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it.

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is 766 of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and [565] important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had [764] no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:—

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

> "The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

---

[1] Op. cit., 299.

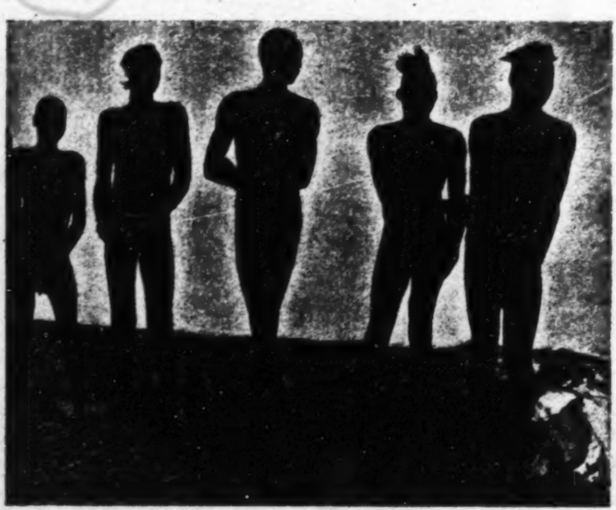
2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
ANUAK FJ4

PLATE X

S
342
764

Shilluk homestead, grave in foreground

A
142
291
301
302
516



Anuak

[*face p.* 104

> 766 to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man . . . throws away the hearth-stones. . . . A goat . . . is killed . . . the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning dances . . . go around in a procession dancing. . . .
>
> "A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river. . . . Oboyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the oboyo. . . . The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; . . . [after] four days . . . beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead man . . . and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is . . . put on the back of the dead man . . . beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession."[1]

We may add that after the burial all the people bathe in the river.
[765] No food taboos are laid on the mourners, who should shave the head, put aside all beads, wear a cow-rope round the neck, and abstain from dancing during the period of mourning. Any milk that has been standing in the house of the deceased is poured upon his grave, as well as some beer. Hofmayr states that young wives or parents bid farewell to the dead before the grave is filled in, and that very emotional scenes are not uncommon.

764 Many years ago we witnessed a Shilluk burial at Omdurman. Women bearing spears went round and round the grave, dancing, while other women beat drums and shook bells. Later the men danced in war panoply with spear and shield. Dr. Tucker tells us that on the occasion of a burial he saw a bull chased through the settlement with loud yells and killed outside by armed men, who on their return danced round the grave, making as though to attack it, while the women wailed. About a month after burial people collect for
765 a further ceremony.

> Dura for beer is collected from all the people. . . . The beer is strained . . . the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. . . . The next morning . . . four cows are killed in [the house enclosure of the deceased] . . . and four . . . in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken and thrown into the hole. . . . The horns of cattle . . . they are brought . . . they are [placed] on the grave, so that they may be seen by the people. . . ."[2]

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[1] Westermann, op. cit., 112–13.

[2] Westermann, loc. cit.

766 *Kwanyireth* are buried in the same way as commoners. We saw an oval mound in one village surrounded by a fence, and were told that it was the grave of a *kwanyireth*. Such a fence is also built round the grave of an *ajuago*; those we saw were in the centre of the village, and it may be that this position was chosen purposely. The wives of the kings, the *bareth*, are buried by the *ororo*, inside their huts (not outside, as commoners are), which though left standing for some time are eventually pulled down. If a king's wife falls ill she will if possible return to her own village to die, and will be buried there.
764 Huts of the recently deceased are marked on each side of the door
789 with vertical stripes of white clay of about a hand's breadth, to ward off evil and the vengeance of the deceased.

LITTLE-KNOWN SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

600 Besides the Shilluk, a number of other Shilluk-speaking tribes exist in the Sudan. Little is known of any of these, though we are less ignorant of the Acholi than of the other peoples. These tribes include the following:—

The Anuak (called Bar by the Nuer) of the Sobat river, extending along the Baro and Akobo rivers into Abyssinia.

The Luo, the so-called Shilluk-speaking Jur. As stated in Chapter I, the use of the word *jur* (Dinka, "stranger") as a tribal name has caused much confusion in the identification of the minor Shilluk-speaking tribes, a confusion which has tended to obscure the ethnology of the whole south-western Sudan. We shall therefore avoid the use of this word, noting that the Luo are the remains of the "greater Luo people" referred to on page 37.

The Belanda, a composite tribe with a Shilluk-speaking section calling themselves Bor (p. 492), whose territory lies to the south and south-west of the Luo.

Westermann mentions a tribe called Ber, living south of the Bongo and east of the Belanda on the right bank of the Sueh river.[1] We cannot identify this tribe, and suspect that there has been confusion with the Bor of the Belanda complex.

The Dembo, whom Westermann places north-west of the "Jur on both sides of the Bahr Dembo".[2]

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[1] Op. cit., 31.

[2] Loc. cit.

116

116 **TEXTS**--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 530

000

THE SHILLUK PEOPLE

THEIR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE

BY DIEDRICH WESTERMANN

WITH EIGHT PLATES
AND A SKETCH MAP

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF
THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF N. A.

DIETRICH REIMER (ERNST VOHSEN) BERLIN

[title page, p. iii]

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ODD

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NOTE OF APPRECIATION.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of N. A. desires to express to the Trustees of the Arthington Fund its profound appreciation for financial help which made it possible to carry on linguistic investigations in Southern Sudan and then to give publicity to their findings by the publication of this book.

PREFACE.

121 In the summer of 1910 the Prussian Board of Education provided me with
the means to undertake a journey to the Northern Sudan. My object was to
122 make linguistic studies. During my stay in the Sudan the material for this work
was collected. My studies in the Shilluk language and people are due to a request made to me by the Reverend C. R. Watson D. D., of Philadelphia Pa., Corresponding Secretary of the Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Mr. Watson, having heard of my intended journey to Egypt and the Sudan, asked me to visit the United Presbyterian Church's Mission on the Sobat, and to study the language of that district which lies within the sphere of their activity. By supplying the necessary funds for this part of the journey and for my stay in the Sudan, I was enabled to carry out this proposition, which was at the same time of importance for my linguistic studies.

114 I left for the Sudan at the beginning of August 1910, where I staid in Khartum and on the Sobat till the middle of November.

The results of my work obtained during this comparatively short time would
000 not have been possible had it not been for the extremely active and kind support rendered me everywhere in the Sudan by the American missionaries. Not only was I able to profit by their kind hospitality, but they also most generously placed at my disposal their extensive knowledge of the country, people and language. I owe my practical introduction to the language to Dr. Thomas A. Lambie, medical missionary at Khartum, in whose house I was privileged to stay for over a month. In addition to the contributions signed by him he also supplied me with several native texts from his collection which will be found incorporated in this book.

The missionaries on Doleib Hill, Mr. C. B. Guthrie and the Reverend D. S. Oyler also helped me on all possible occasions; above all they introduced me to the Shilluks and put me into touch with those natives who were necessary and useful to me in my researches. Both these gentlemen and the Reverend E. McCreery and Mr. R. W. Tidrick have supplied me with very valuable information in answer to questions addressed to them since my return to Germany, some of which appears as signed contributions. Part of it has been included in the introduction. During the winter of 1911 I had the pleasure of receiving the Reverend McCreery while he was in Berlin, and thus had an opportunity of discussing grammatical questions with him.

I must express my sincere thanks to all those who have assisted me in their

[p. vi is blank]

[122]

cooperation and by placing the necessary funds at my disposal, which enabled me to complete this work.

I am indebted to the Arthington Trustees, who by their financial support made the printing of this book possible.

My gratitude is also due to Mr. L. Hamilton of the Oriental College, Berlin, who has read and corrected the English text.

The Reverend C. R. Watson was kind enough to read and correct that part of the work which relates to Folklore.

Berlin, August 1912. DIEDRICH WESTERMANN.

600

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Sketch map of Tribes of the Shilluk Cluster indicating their principal migrations as shown by traditions and language, compiled and drawn by Bernhard Struck LXIII

104

ABBREVIATIONS.

a. = adjective
adv. = adverb
A. E. S. = The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; vide "Authors Quoted"
interr. = interrogative
n. = noun, also verbal noun
prep. = preposition
rel. = relative
v. = verb
v. a. = verb active
v. n. = verb neuter
verb. n. = verbal noun
ff. = and the following
* before a word means that the word or form is not really existing, but hypothetical
- standing between two nouns designates the first of the two as a singular, the second as a plural, *e. g. àdịrò-àdịr* means: *àdịrò* is the singular, *àdịr* the plural
< means: is derived from
> means: changes into.

[194] The verb in the present tense has generally low tone on both syllables, therefore the tones are not designated in this case.

197

Names of Languages and Dialects abbreviated.

Al. = Aluru
Any. = Anywak
Ba. = Bari
Bo. = Bongo
Di. = Dinka
E. = Ewe
Ef. = Efik
G. = Gã
Ga. = Gang
Ju. = Jur
La. = Lango
Nu. = Nuba
Nr. = Nuer
N. = Nupe
Shi. = Shilluk
T. = *Tši*
Y. = Yoruba
V. = Vai
Ja. = Ja-Luo (Nyifwa).

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000

INTRODUCTION

[p. xviii is blank]

[p. xix]

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

101 **NAME** The inhabitants are called: *óchȍlǫ*, "a Shilluk", plural *wǫ̈tẹ chȍl*, "children of Shilluk", "Shilluks"; the country is called *fȍṭẹ chǫ̈l* "country of the Shilluks." The word *chȍl* perhaps means "black", vide below. A second name of the people is *okȁng*, "descendants of *kȁng*," this name is connected with Nyikang, the national here of the Shilluks. The name "Shilluk" (singular Shilkawi) is given to them by the Arabs, and has now become their common designation; it is of course derived from *ochȍlǫ*. Other appellations, which are in use among the neighbours of the Shilluks, vide page 44.

131 **EXTENSION OF THE COUNTRY** The Shilluk country is situated on the western banks of the White Nile, from Kaka to Lake No, that is from about 10°5′ to 9°5′ northern latitude, a length of nearly 350 km, and a width of 5 to 6 hours. Near the mouth of the Sobat (Bahr El Asraf, "Yellow River") a number of Shilluks live on the eastern shore of the White Nile, on both sides of the lower Sobat, chiefly on its northern bank. They extend about 35 miles up the Sobat, the last Shilluk village up river being Nagdyeb. There is also a group of Shilluk settlements at Shakwa El Shilkawi (= Shilluk), near Bahr El Zeraf, on the right bank of the Nile, and on Khor Atar, south of Tonga (*Tuṅǫ*). North of Kaka the first Shilluk settlements are found on Aba Island, on the north- and south-end of which there is a small Shilluk village each. Near Masran Island there is also a Shilluk village on the right bank of the Nile. Again single settlements are met with on Masran Island, Wad Dakona Island, and on the north-end of the Gezira Wad Beiker.

103 The Shilluks themselves designate the extension of their country by naming the most northern and the most southern village and district of their Kingdom, viz. Mwomo and Tonga (*Mwǫmǫ, Tuṅǫ*), which term corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba.

131
174 In former times the country of the Shilluks seems to have been larger than it is now. According to older reports it not only extended farther northwards, whence they were driven back by Arab tribes, but they are also said to have, in the 17th century, inhabited both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa; Kawa is situated a little south of El Dueim; so, provided this report is right, they owned at that time a trait of territory nearly three times as great as that they inhabit to-day.

132 **CLIMATE** From January to April the climate of the country is dry and warm. April is

132

the hottest month of the year. June to September constitutes the rainy season, and from October to December the larger part of the country is flooded with water, but the marshes and smaller Khors[1] all dry up by April. From November to April the climate is not unhealthy for Europeans. During the wet season mosquitoes are numerous. Malaria and black water fever are the diseases most dangerous to white people.

[136]
[164]

SOIL

133
134

The country is a plain with only inconsiderable elevations, on which the villages of the natives are built. The soil is black and fertile near the river and the khors, back from the water courses it is in most places poorer, sometimes sandy.

VEGETATION

137

The chief vegetation is high grass, interspersed with shrubs. A light forest of acacia trees is found mainly along the Nile. The acacia is the chief representative of the tree-flora: heglig (Balanites aegyptiaca), sont-acacia (Acacia arabica), Talh (Acacia Seyal), different kinds of gum-acacias, etc. A characteristic feature of the landscape are groups of deleib- and dom-palms (Borassus flabellifer and Hyphaena Thebaica); a beautiful tree is the mahogany tree (Khaya senegalensis); it is most useful as timber, but seems to be rather rare in the Shilluk country; other notable trees are: different kinds of Ficus (Sycomore fig), the ardeib tree (Tamarindus indicus), nabag (a fruit tree) etc. The vegetation on the river is most luxuriant. Though this is not the region of the sudd, yet the river is at most times largely covered with single plants and swimming islands, formed of papyrus, ambach (Herminiera Elaphroxylon), several kinds of reeds, lotus, Umm Suf (Vossia procera), Potamogeton, Ottelia, and many others. The floating vegetation often serves birds for a fishing place. Trees are much hampered in their growth by the fires which the natives light while the grass is dry; the reason for burning the grass is to hunt up game, and to get the ground cleared for cultivation.

[224
241]

ANIMALS

136

The country being thickly populated, game is not very numerous. But at some distance from the settlements large animals are still frequent, chiefly near the river towards Lake No; the neighbourhood of Kaka and north of it are also rich in game. Elephants, giraffes, buffaloes are met with, though not very frequently; antelopes and gazelles abound: bushbuck (Tragelaphus scriptus), reedbuck (Cervicapra bohor), white-eared cob (Cobus leucotis), ariel (Gazella soemmeringi), dorcas (G. dorcas), isabelline gazelle (G. isabella), oryx, waterbuck (Cobus defassa), Mrs. Gray's waterbuck (Cobus maria), gazella rubifrons, roan antelope (Hippotragus equinus bakeri), hartebeest (Bubalis jacksoni), tiang or Bastard Hartebeest (Damaliscus tiang), Oribi antelope (Ourebia) etc. Of the carnivorous family the most notable are: lion, leopard, jackal, hyena, fox, Zorilla (a little black-and-white animal resembling the American skunk),

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[1] Khor (Arab.) — water course drying up in the rainless season.

136 ichneumon (mangouste). The natives also hunt the hare, porcupine, ground-squirrel, rat, and hedgehog. The rivers and khors, and chiefly their sidearms, are populated by crocodiles, hippos, and numerous fish, some of which weigh up to lbs. 200. The birds are mainly riverain: cranes, storks, herons, egrets, fish-eagles, marabous, pelicans, ibises, ducks, geese; the guinea-fowl is very common; numberless swarms of dura-birds (Pyromelana franciscana) are a great nuisance to the farmer; besides them quails, pigeons, turtle-doves, hawks, crows, swallows, owls, and starlings are frequent. Of snakes the largest ist python; of poisonous species the puff-adder and some others occur; harmless snakes are numerous.

POPULATION

161 The population amounts to about 60000 souls,[1] who live in a little more
162 than 1200 villages, and 10000 "domiciles", each of which consists of three
[621] to five huts. Accordingly the average number of people living in a village is 50, and one domicile is inhabited by about six persons. The largest village is Atwadoi in a district of the same name north of Kodok; it consists (1903) of 120 domiciles. The villages generally lie in the belt between the swamp of the
361 Nile-bank and the forest. There are, however, eight groups of villages 12—22 miles inland, away from the river. The country is, for its size, and considering the fact that only in the higher parts settlements are possible, thickly populated. "Right away from Kaka to Lake No is a continous string of villages lying about a mile from the river. There are only two points in the whole of this distance, at which the interval between villages exceeds two miles, and these are the points where grazing is bad, between Akurwar and Nun, and between Nielwag and Nyagwado." A. E. S., p. 193.

161 According to Schweinfurth, the population was much larger formerly. In
162 1871, when the Egyptians had conquered the country, a census was taken; the villages on the left bank of the Nile were almost exactly 3000. The inhabitants of this part numbered one million, each village consisting of 45—200 huts, a hut comprising four persons. No part of Africa, not even of the world, is so densely populated. "The whole western Nile bank, as far as the boundaries of
361 the country reach, is like one single village, whose parts are separated by a
311 distance of only 500 to 1000 steps. The hut-clusters are built in an astonishing regularity, and are so crowded together that from a distance they look like a cluster of mushrooms."

161 The statement of a population of more than one million is probably too high;
114 the Shilluks have doubtlessly suffered cruelly from wars and raids, but in spite of this a decrease from one million to 60000 within a time of forty years is hardly thinkable.

163 Since the time the people live under the peace of Anglo-Egyptian rule, they

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[1] This is the number of the White Nile and Sobat Shilluks only; if all the Shilluk speaking people are included, the population will amount to several hundreds of thousands.

163 [165] [833 853]

are increasing in numbers. The average number of children reared in one family may be from three to four. The number of children born by one woman is not low; women with ten children are no exception. But as a rule no more than three or four children grow up to maturity in one family, the rest dying from want of reasonable nursing. If in course of time the natives are taught to take better care of their children, the population will no doubt strongly increase. A cause of the low birth rate in many families is the fact that a man is not supposed to have intercourse with his wife while a baby is nursing, that is, till the baby is from two to two and a half years old. They consider it a great shame for a woman to become pregnant before this time has elapsed. If such a case happens, they generally will say that the woman has committed adultery.

OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE

142 516 147

The Shilluks are tall in figure, the average height of the men being nearly 1.80 m.[1] They are generally lean, rather narrow in the shoulders, and have but thin calves; their arms and legs are long, especially the legs below the knees and the forearms; hands and feet are small. A characteristic posture of the Shilluk man is to stand on one leg, and bending the other, press the sole of his foot against the inner surface of the knee, while one hand holds a spear stuck into the ground; he will stand thus for hours, looking admiringly at his cattle. They are very clever in running and jumping, and are capable of sustaining considerable fatigue.

142 [145] [481]

Their skin is dark, almost black; albinoes seem to be rare. The physical appearance of the Shilluks is not that of pure negroes, they might rather be called negroids, in spite of their dark colour. Most of them have a fierce, sometimes a proud, haughty look. The cheek-bones and lips are protruding, but not excessively; the nose is flat, but high noses are not infrequent. Young people of both sexes are finely built, while in old age they generally become very thin and bony. Their gait is erect and elastic.

PAINTING THE BODY

302

What makes the Shilluks look most ugly and almost frightful in the eyes of a newcomer, is their habit of smearing the whole body. While the lower part is covered with ashes, the breast and head are painted with red earth or with chalk, or, if they can afford it, with oil or butter. Sometimes the whole body is painted white or red, and lines or figures are drawn across the face.

EXTRACTION OF INCISORS

304 [753]

Like most Nilotic negroes the Shilluk remove the lower incisors; this is done in early childhood; its omission would, in the belief of the natives, cause sickness; for instance, a case occurred where the teeth were taken out to cure sore eyes; a woman who had just had them removed from her child, said that unless they were taken out, her child would undoubtedly be deformed in some way, when it grew to maturity. Another explanation for extracting the theeth

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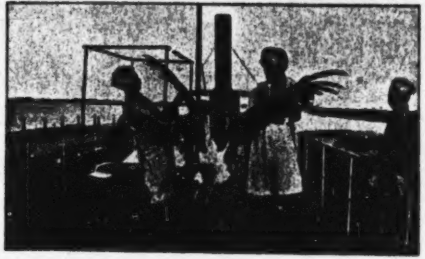
[1] five feet ten inches.

[Facing p.xxiv]



1. The Goldencrested Crane, the most beautiful Bird in the Sudan
2. Shilluk Dug-out
3. Typical Shilluk pose. In the background a killed crocodile
4. Young Warriors with Clubs and Spears
5. The Marabou-stork

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501
516
411
291

304 [565] is, that this will keep them from using abusive language. — Some natives say, members of the royal family do not remove the incisors; but of this I am not sure.

[641] [413] **TRIBAL MARKS** The tribal marks of the Shilluks, women as well as men, are from three to five rows of dots across the forehead. The regular instrument for tattooing these dots into the skin is a crude iron similar in shape to our scalpel. But not infrequently individuals are met with who have not these marks. Sometimes women have from one to three rows of small scars across their foreheads. These are in most or all cases simply caused by wearing bands of buttons drawn tightly across the forehead. Tattooings on other parts of the body are seldom.

302 413 **SHAVING** The women wear either no or only short hair on the head; they shave their heads with a razor consisting of a straight piece of thin iron, whose edge is sharpened, or with a short piece of iron with one side beaten out to a thin edge. But lacking a razor they use almost any metal instrument they can get hold of for this purpose. Both sexes scrupulously remove any hair on the body by pulling it out with a kind of pincers; the men even pull out their beard and eyelashes. — They do not circumcise.

302 **HAIR-DRESSINGS** The men, chiefly youths, indulge in elaborate hair-dresses of varied forms. Such hair-dressing takes several hours to arrange, and has to last for weeks, the natural occassion for renewing it being a village-dance, where everyone wants to appear at his best; in dressing it, the hair is first loosened with a stick, which serves at the same time for scratching the head. Then it is twisted and brought into the right form by means of a mixture of gum, mud, and sometimes cow-dung; from time to time oil or butter is poured on it. In order not to spoil [352 513] the hair-dressings while sleeping, the neck is supported by neck-supports. Sometimes the hair is bleached either yellowish-red or grey. Bleached hair is generally not twisted or dressed, but is left standing out in all directions "like the feathers of a fighting cock." Bleaching is done by smearing a thick plaster of ashes, chalk and cow-dung on the hair and leaving it there for about two or three weeks. Another mode of bleaching is to rub the plaster well into the hair, then gathering it up from the back, and bringing it forward, forming it into the [237] shape of a horn. While in this state, they must be very careful not to break it, lest the hair is broken off. The same result is obtained by washing the hair continually with cow-urine. These processes take the kink as well as the colour out of the hair. This bleached bristle-like hair together with their tall, thin body covered with ashes or brick-dust, and the want of eyelashes sometimes gives the people, in the eyes of one who has never seen them before, a rather frightful appearance. [301] Boys wear their hair in little knobs, formed with red earth and fat. Cowrie-shells, in strings or single, are often twisted into the hair, and

302

301 youg men are very fond of adorning their hair with ostrich or other fine feathers.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

291 The men and generally also unmarried girls go naked. In recent times many men wear a cotton cloth, which is knotted on the left shoulder, and slung round the right hip; chiefly people living near the mission have partly adopted this clothing; the desire to possess such a cotton-cloth is a stimulus for many a Shilluk to work for a few days or weeks in the mission-compound; the number [461] of those who do so is apparently increasing. Animal-skins are generally not worn by men as an every-day dress. Women, and sometimes girls are dressed in cow, calf, or antelope skins, which are either wrapped round the body, or hung over the shoulder.

> [The full dress of a woman is described by Mrs. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" as follows: First of all there is a small apron. This is a piece of coarse cloth — originally white — about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. It is made of two thicknesses, and it is tied by strings fastened to two corners around the waist, but just below the abdomen, and falls down to the knees.
>
> Then there are two skins, of sheep, goat, calf, gazelle or whatever it may be, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out. One of these is tied around the waist, using one foreleg and one hindleg of the skin for strings to tie with. The tail and the other two legs — or the skin of them — dangle and flap around the legs as ornaments. Indeed these are sometimes ornamented with beads, brass or iron rings. This skin is tied in front so as to show the white apron underneath.
>
> The other skin is worn on the upper part of the body. The fore and hind legs on one side are fastened together at their very tips; this is then slipped over the head, the legs of the skin thus tied together resting on the right shoulder, and the other side passing under the left arm. This [301] is the full dress of a woman. Of course in addition to this they may wear as many beads and other ornaments as they can afford; strings of beads around the waist, neck, and arms, and armlets, of brass; sometimes as many as ten or twelve brass or iron rings, weighing several pounds, and extending from the hand half way to the elbow. These are not loose, but drawn tight to the flesh, and each made fast by the blacksmith. Similar rings of iron are often worn by the older women on the ankle. These are very heavy and produce great knots in the flesh.
>
> 292 The little girls wear the apron only, and when a little older, put on the shoulder skin, and when full grown wear the skin about the waist.]

[535] [301] When meeting for a dance both sexes are richly dressed. While present at

292 a great dance. I have noted the ornaments and clothings worn by the young
535 men and girls on the occasion. They are *a)* for the men: above the ankles a
301 strip of sheep or goat skin with the hair on it outside; the same just below the
knee; above it are the knee-bells, a number of metal bells each consisting in
a hollow, oblong piece of iron, in which a small iron ball moves, thus producing
a rattling noise; about the loins there is a skin of leopard, gepard, wild cat, or
jackal, suspended on a eight to twelve-fold girdle of ostrich egg shells; the
girdle may also consist of European beads; on the wrist a bracelet of brass or
iron, above the elbow an ivory ring, above it a six- to eight-fold ring of ambach;
about the neck they wear one or more necklaces of beads; on the head ornaments
of horse-tail or other long hair, and ostrich feathers; round the forehead
strips of red or white bristles are fastened; each man holds two lances, two clubs,
one club-shield, the lances generally being adorned with ostrich-plumes; sometimes
the skin-cloth round the waist is adorned with bells or iron chains. Face,
[302] arms, and the upper part of the body are smeared with red earth, over wich
melted butter is poured and stripes of ashes are drawn. Several, if not all, of
the dancers carry a dancing-stick, a long stick, bent at its upper end like the
handle of a walking stick, and covered with brass or some other metal. *b)* The
girls present the following appearance: above the ankles a bundle of heavy
iron rings, on the loins a large antelope- or more frequently calf-skin suspended
by a bundle of ostrich egg shell chains; round the neck and hanging
down on the breasts a large bundle of blue or green beads; on the wrists
bracelets of beads; round the forehead a string of beads; the hair is sometimes
dressed on the occasion; in the hair an ostrich or some other good feather is
stuck, in one or two cases I saw even flowers instead of a feather; the girls are
not painted, only anointed with oil.

301 The most characteristic adornments of the men are thick, heavy bracelets
and armlets of iron, brass, ivory, twisted ambach, tree-bark, and cowrie shells.
A wreath consisting of a strip of skin with the hair on the outside is laid round
the head. Rings of metal, ambach, cowrie or bark are worn above the ankle.
Women and girls also wear armlets, but not ivory ones. The legs below the
knee are loaded with heavy metal rings. Men as well as women, but chiefly
[304] the latter, pierce their ears at the top, and wear rings of brass or iron in them;
sometimes merely a piece of metal or a stick is fastened in them. Both sexes
wear strings of ostrich egg shells about the loins; besides these chains of cowries,
of river shells, of leather, and of varied beads are frequent. Many grown-up
men and youths wear a necklace of a peculiar kind of small, well-shaped, and
439 marble-like stones, which have about the size of a pigeon-egg; they are very
much valued, and the natives always ask an ox in exchange for them. Those

439 stones are collected by the Arabs of Kordofan about the numerous mountains there. The amount of labour required to work them into the proper shape accounts for their high value, as well as their scarcity among the Shilluks.

ARMS 411 A Shilluk man hardly leaves his home without carrying a spear or two, and a club. They have two kinds of spears, one whose blade has the form of a laurel-leaf, another with a cylindric blade, ending in a sharp point, the surface being either smooth or barbed. The shafts are of common wood without any ornaments. The spears often have a tuft of short ostrich feathers or of wool, near the butt. The cylindrical (round) spears are used not only as arms, but also in fishing. Besides the spears, they have two species of clubs, at least one of which a man always carries with him. One is simply a thick stick about one meter long, and heavy at one end. The other is about two feet and a half long, made in one solid piece of hard, heavy wood, with a big round knob at one end.

CHARACTER 157 186 The Shilluks are a haughty, proud people. They are much inclined to consider themselves and everything belonging to them as superior to the strangers, including the white men. "The things of the Shilluks are good, and the things of the strangers are bad", is a common saying among them. They do not in any way want the foreigners and their mode of life. This strong disinclination is not only due to their innate character, but also to the evil experiences they have had with Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, the Dervishes etc.

The well-founded feeling of suspicion and even of contempt for white people will grow less intensive or may disappear altogether in consequence of the peaceful intercourse they now have with the representatives of the white race. In conversing with a white man they at the best treat him as their equal, but hardly ever as their superior. It requires therefore considerable tact to deal with them. Once having gained confidence they are frank, open-minded, and always ready for a joke, but they are also quickly offended.

181 As warriors the Shilluks are brave; they make excellent soldiers in colonial troops, and are renowned as the best soldiers in the Sudan; generally they become really attached to their leaders, whether white or black.

461 [469] Working for the white man is done only in times of dearth, when no food is obtainable in other ways. But in spite of this difficulty the mission has, during the last few years, had remarkable results in educating the natives to regular voluntary work. — If one sees a Shilluk standig for an hour or longer almost without ever moving, except now and then scratching his head or chewing his tooth-stick, or if one meets them lying in the ashes of the village place for hours together, one might believe them to be an extremely lazy people. But this would be only partly right. Indeed during the dry season they have not much work [221]

461 to do except hunting, fishing, building or repairing the houses, or practising some craft: their chief occupation in this time is idling about, seeing friends, dancing, etc. But in the rainy season all people, including women and children, are engaged in farm-work; during these months they are really hard-working.

To give an opinion on the mental abilities of the natives would require a long

181

123

and intimate acquaintance with them. From my personal experiences I can only say that I feel an admiration for the few men who have been working with me during my studies. They were never tired in giving explanations, in procuring folklore and helping me to acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. Whenever their store of tales was exhausted, they used to go to their families in the evening to get new informations; historical reports being provided by old men, chiefly from those belonging to the royal family, while for stories, riddles, etc. women were the best source. Though we were at work day after day, which meant for them a considerable and quite unaccustomed mental exertion, they never showed any unwillingness, but were really interested in the work. I consider them an intelligent, quick-witted people. This is confirmed by their folklore. They have a decided sense and predilection for historical traditions, being the only black people of the Eastern Sudan who are able to trace back their own history for centuries. The fact that they have had, up to the European occupation of the country, a kingdom with a well-ordered provincial government, shows no doubt certain political capabilities.

II. OCCUPATIONS.

361 HOUSEBUILDING

Vide page 96 and 97.

The homestead is surrounded by a fence of dura-stalks. The villages are built in a circle, the open space in the centre containing sometimes a meeting-house for the men, and a small, narrow hut which is dedicated to Nyikang or some other ancient king.

AGRICULTURE

Vide page 99.

233

[556]

CATTLE-BREEDING

The favourite occupation of the Shilluks is cattle-breeding; cattle mean wealth and a social position, while the cultivation of the ground is merely the means of procuring daily food. Besides cattle goats and sheep are kept. The number of cattle has in earlier times undoubtedly been much larger than it is to-day, the desire of robbing cattle being one of the chief reasons for the raids of Arabs, Turks, and other enemies. The cattle census of 1903 showed 12173 head of cattle and 63473 sheep and goats, which is very little compared with that of the Dinkas. But the number of cattle is increasing now.

The cattle are of the zebu race, with a hump behind the neck; they are tall

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, 233
are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular
craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees
hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how [192]
cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they
have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration
or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 107. — Domestic animals are not butchered, [782]
except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal
occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Nyikang and Jwok.
Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase
a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a [435]
cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying
a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is
pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also 234
by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The [462]
quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are
washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also [415]
wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the [171]
custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at [237]
night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The 343
rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with 233
ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular
enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of corn
stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd
sleep. A fire of dried cow dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick
cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the
sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all
the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and
other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off 221
the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when 233
grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of
the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White [462]
Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks
descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross
the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not
undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

221 weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an im-
233 portant part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and
boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks
or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the
578 first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the
best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has
in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 **GOATS** The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost unvariably look thin
and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not un-
SHEEP frequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on
shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair.
FOWLS Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls
is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen
DOGS by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a
kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They
are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake
gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 **HUNTING** Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very
[411] successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals.
Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue
of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 125;
a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are
killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for
[643] days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king,
and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission
of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

225 Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning
the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface
to breathe.

226 **FISHING** Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps,
which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water,
where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim.
But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish
in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry
on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the
[177] water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets
and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 **HANDICRAFTS** The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families
for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

463

A list of craftsmen and their trade vide page 105. A few words may be added here on some particular crafts. They have skilful blacksmiths; these make spears, hoes, axes, harpoons, picks, arm-rings of brass and of iron, bells, chains. Their handicraft, which is carried on chiefly during the dry season, is a travelling one; they take their tools and go about from one place to another. While among the Dinkas the blacksmiths are considered a low, despised class of people, who live separate from the villages in the bush, with the Shilluks they are respected persons, and accordingly their pay is good. The employer has to support the blacksmith working for him, and pays him a sheep beside. Iron is not found in the Shilluk country. Previous to the opening up of the country to the traders the iron secured by the Shilluks came from the Dinkas and Nuers, who seemed to buy it from the natives of the Upper Nile regions (Jurs, Bongos), where iron is smelted; some may also have come from Darfur through Kordofan. In recent years, however, nearly all of it is procured from the north, and is of European origin. A remarkable proof of the growing willingness on the side of the natives to work for wages is the fact that during the last two years the American missionaries have introduced and sold to the natives some thirteen tons of raw iron, together with a great number of good iron tools, as axes, etc. Not only the raw material, but even the finished articles of native manufacture are gradually being replaced by European imports. Their good spears are still made by their own blacksmiths, but many cheap spears are bought from the traders; so are their crude axes, mattocks and hoes. Iron bracelets and other ornaments are made by their blacksmiths from iron rods. If the rod is too large, it is heated and beaten out. Whatever the Shilluk blacksmith makes, is superior to the imported article that he gets from the Arab or Greek trader. It may be mentioned that the word *bọ̄dẹ*, which means originally and properly "blacksmith", has also the wider sense of "craftsman", and has become a designation for all other crafts they practise.

BLACKSMITHS 326

[171
565]

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[461]
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An important craft is that of the thatch-maker. The roofs of the Shilluk houses are of a peculiarly neat description. While the Dinkas generally leave the roof with the appearance of being unfinished, the grass not being smoothed down and cut at the ends, the Shilluk thatcher makes his thatch with a neatness which really excites admiration. The framework of the roof is always made on the ground and placed on the circular wall lik[illegible] great conical cap.

OTHER CRAFTS 331

Plaiting is pratised by both sexes. Men make the l[illegible] coarse mats for enclosing yards, and also the large grain baskets. Women plait small fancy mats for covering food, and also very nice small coloured baskets, sieves, etc.

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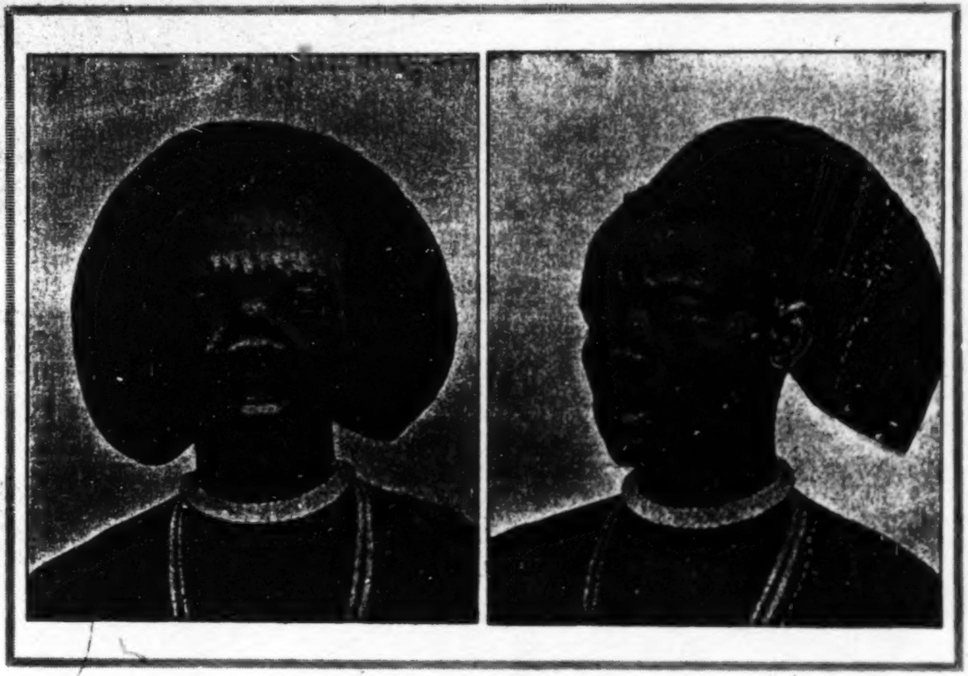
Most of the men make their own ostrich shell girdles. The shells are first broken into irregular pieces, which are pierced in the center with an awl-

321

[facing p. xxxii]



A Typical Shilluk, showing head dress

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301
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321 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by crushing the edges against a stone with a cow's hoof.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

283 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dom palm.

BOATS 501 Canoes are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very tiresome work, but the boats they make are fairly well; they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the ambach tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light cane tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

[482]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called jom and a wind instrument consisting in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and braced with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The jom is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of raw cow hide is stretched wet over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of tendons of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by wetting these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping

POTTERY 323 [462] [415] [276 53] Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

323 mostly consisting of ring-shaped lines with dots in them. The pipe-stem is a
276 long, thick, hollow reed of about 1½—2 cm in diameter. The juncture be-
531 tween the stick and the head is tightly closed with a leather cover. On the
upper end of the stick a small, oblong gourd with a pointed head is fastened;
here again the juncture is made tight by a leather cover wrapped about it. Along
the stick four or five strings are fastened, by which the pipe is carried; a long,
pointed stick for cleaning the pipe is tied to the stem with a string. They are
276 exceedingly fond of smoking, both men and women. The smoking materials is a
little tobacco and much charcoal. The pipe being rather heavy, they usually sit
[516] down, bowing their head deep over the pipe while smoking. When sitting in a
circle they take only one or two draughts, and after that hand the pipe over
to their neighbour. — Tobacco is not only smoked, but also chewed passionate-
ly; this habit is more common among women and girls than among men.

SMOKING AND
CHEWING OF
TOBACCO

756 In cases of sickness the doctor is called. His chief means of curing consists
758 in charms, but they also know some reasonable medicines, among which cut-
ting stands in the first place; but although they inflict much pain, they often heal
a sickness. — Sick people are nursed by their relatives with care; temporary
residences are fixed for them by screening off a place in the yard.

463 Building houses, making fences, dressing skins, working neck supports, carv-
ing and polishing clubs and spear sticks, making ambach boats and other
common work is understood by every Shilluk. The neck supports are "invented
352 by Nyikang." They are carved of wood, and are made to resemble the forms
[532] of animals, viz. of hippopotamus, giraffe, tiang, camel, ostrich and another bird,
which seems to be an ibis. The Shilluks have no chairs or stools; old men
sometimes sit on a piece of ambach wood, young people squat or lie on the
ground.

NECK SUPPORTS

463 The craftsmen do not practice their trade with the exclusion of all other kind
of work; each one of them cultivates his farm and tends his cattle, and only
during the time there is no farm-work, he works at his craft.

438 There are villages which are renowned in practising certain crafts; some in
fishing or hunting, some in cattle-breeding or cultivating dura, some in making
pots or baskets, etc. As these goods are exchanged between the villages, a little
trade is going on; but in this trade among the natives no money is used, and
[443] it is practised only occasionally; they have no markets. The very little develop-
ment of trade is illustrated by the expression used for it: *dgong*, which means
"to sell" as well as "to buy"; all trade being done by barter, selling and buying
are identical actions; the native cannot "buy" anything without at the same time
439 "selling" another thing; he exchanges one thing for another. In trading with
177 the Arab or Greek merchant they have, however, learnt the use of money;

431 177 here articles of purchase and sale are calculated in silver currency.

462 512 The daily work of the women is cooking, carrying water, cleaning the house and yard, etc. During the time of farmwork they help the men in cultivating the fields.

FOOD 262 [252] [142] [372] The staple food is dura. It is cooked, baked into a bread *([illegible])*, roasted, brewed and, when green, eaten raw. For different kinds of food vide page 102. Their diet is rather monotonous, dura being its constant chief component. The dura is pounded and ground. The mortar is either a log of wood hollowed out, or a flat excavation in the ground, lined out with clay. The mill-stones — a large and a small one, with the latter the grinding is done — are secured from districts west of the Shilluk country. — Fire is made by twirling a hard stick on a soft piece of wood.

[231] [171] Besides dura they eat sesame, dukhn, maize, beans, some onions, various grass seeds, the seeds of the lotus plant and of some kinds of nymphaeae. The fruit of several trees, as deleib, nabag, etc. also serve as food; they even rob ant hills to procure the winter store of hoarded seeds. White ants, when in the winged state, are a delicacy to them. — Milk is used in the household in many ways: it is drunk fresh, sour, or boiled, or dura meals are prepared with it. They also make butter, by shaking or rolling the milk in a gourd. — As domestic animals are almost never [illegible], meat forms no part of the daily food, but is rather an exceptional delicacy, which is, however, sought for with eagerness; of game they hardly leave any piece uneaten, skin and bowels not excepted; they do not even despise dead animals. The blood of killed animals is kept and cooked, but they do not tap the blood from living cattle, as is the custom with the Bari and Masai. — Generally they prefer the meat of castrated animals.

264 Two chief meals are taken daily; one from nine to ten in the morning, and the second at sunset.

BREWING OF BEER 273 A large quantity of the dura the people reap is used in cooking merisa or beer. The grain is put into jars and water poured on it. Thus it is left till the grain begins to sprout. Then it is spread in the sun to dry, and then pounded or ground; this wet meal is mixed with flour from the fresh grain and put a second time into jars which are filled with water. After stirring and mixing well, a little dry meal is sprinkled on it; the jars are covered with small mats and allowed to remain a day or two, until it begins to ferment, when a little more water and meal are added. When the whole mass is well fermented it is filtered through a grass funnel, and the following day is ready for use. It will keep about a week. Though this drink is slightly intoxicating, it does not seem to do great harm; it is very nourishing, and the natives regard it rather as a food than a beverage.

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; MARRIAGE 584
if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the
village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which 583
consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the
ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the
whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, be-
fore the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when
they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the
marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at 585
the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men
of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows'
tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying
these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A
young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns
for this reason. On the marriage *festival* vide page 109. — A man cannot reach 581
a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without 554
cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in
order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the 606
full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may be-
come the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between
husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a
legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often
threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not
be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few 595
exceed this number.

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 582
127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in
any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage
laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest
death follow marriage.

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Moham- POSITION OF WOMEN 562
medan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remark-
able respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men,
discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious cere-
monies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active rôle, vide page [593]
XXXIX. — If refractory or lazy, the man may give his wife a thrashing with a rope.

845 BEARING AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN On the average number of children in a family vide page XXIII. The birth of twins is regarded as the greatest of good fortune.

859 Affection of parents for their children is not wanting. The mother often places the infant in a long basket or bed made of grass; this she carries on her head or covers with a mat in some secure place, while the child sleeps.

868 Education is limited to teaching the children the work and skill which the parents command.

553 551 The naming of the children is done by some member of the family, in most cases by the parents or grandparents. The name generally has some connection with circumstances attending the birth. The name *Aga* ("she died") is often given when the birth occurs in close proximity to a death in the family. *Nawaily* is a very common name; it indicates that the mother of the child has prayed for a child by sweeping a sacred house (a temple of Nyikang or of some other ancient king) with a bunch of straw. Men often acquire a second name when grown up; this one is in most cases called after the name of a cow or an ox.

883 When the boys are from thirteen to fifteen years old, they start the cultivation of a small field of their own, for the result of which they try to acquire cattle.

882 — The boys and young men of a village born in the same year form a companionship, all member of such a "class" having a common name. The young men of a village do not sleep in their parents' houses, but their common sleeping place is in the cow-shed of the village. The act of sleeping in the barn is called "sleeping in the ashes" from the fact that they during this time sleep in the ashes of the fire kept smouldering in the barn.

567 SLAVES The Shilluks have some slaves secured before the present régime. Some of these are Shilluks, others are from the Kordofan and also from farther up the Nile. They were secured in war or purchased from the Arabs. In single cases Shilluk parents sold their children for food in time of famine, or gave them away to chiefs.

764 BURIAL When a grown-up man dies, he is buried in or just before his hut. An ox is killed as a funeral feast, and its horns are planted on the grave so that they are visible from without. Women and children are buried in the bush. — For a description of a burial vide pages 111 and 133.

Some time after the death of a man a funeral ceremony is held; it takes place when the property of the deceased is divided among his heirs; this may be from about one month to one year after the person has died. The warriors of the neighbouring villages are invited. An ox is killed on the occasion. The ceremony consists in dancing, making displays of arms, feasting on the meat of the slain ox, and drinking merisa. The women also partake in it. Whether any religious actions are connected with it, I do not know.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ovo

1. 2. Boys and Maidens Dancing; the Maidens in cow skins
3. View of Sobat River with Doleib Hill in the distance

[Facing p. xxxvi (A)]

535
411

Shilluk war dance at Doleib Hill

[Facing p. xxxvi (B)]

INHERITANCE

428 The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased
father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry
587 them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is
763 very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113.

DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

517 Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a
[361] circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in
the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting
[237] on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread
a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings.
[825] The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot
75[] going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large
tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given
[208] in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the
dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events
536 in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front
of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of
the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the
afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from
[574] three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a
drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing
this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups
or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance
in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle
in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and
singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same
time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to
time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle,
howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn.

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

535 circle. Then the girls rush into this ring, each looking out for the man she intends to favour. She draws up in front of him, so that they look each other in the face; again two or four rows are formed, and the same dance begins anew, accompanied by drumming and singing.

The dances are in many cases repeated on four successive afternoons or nights; on the fourth day they frequently end in quarrels or real fights. The cause of this is the young men of one village casting their eyes on the girls of [578] another village, and thus arousing jealousy. In such fights clubs are used, in exceptional cases also spears.

535 541 [Of a great war-play which was performed in honour of the missionaries, Dr. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" gives the following description: "The first intimation we had of their coming, or rather of their presence, was a whoop and the sound of a horn that sent a chill, and kept it shooting up and down the spinal column. We rushed out on the veranda, and saw at the foot of our hill, and only a few rods away, that the clans had assembled. There were about one hundred men and boys with their spears and war clubs, their bodies shining with oil, and their spears shining from vigorous rubbing, while their faces were hideous with white and red paint of brick-dust and ashes. They kept leaping in the air, yelling and blowing that soul-sickening horn. Little by little they came toward us, stooping low, hiding behind trees, gliding back and forth until they were in front of the house. Then I stepped out and smiled at them, while suddenly with a yell that was not earthly, they sprang in the air, the first line made as if throwing the spear, and suddenly dropped down for the following ranks. Again they all sprang up into the air, yelling, dancing, singing, and brandishing spears, then circled around the house and attacked from another quarter.

These manoeuvers were kept up for some time, and they grew more excited and more wild all the while. Then, at a command from their chief, they ceased and began to dance. Dancing with the Shulla (Shilluk) means jumping up and down in the same spot, accompanied with a sort of chanting sing-song, throwing the arms over their heads and flourishing spears and clubs.

Again they formed in line of battle, five ranks deep, with a front of twenty, each man with spear and shield. The horn sounded the advance, and away they charged to the Doctor's house. They seemed to get the very spirit of murder in their faces. They charged in good order; the front rank, striking at an imaginary foe, dropped to their knees to allow the other ranks to strike over their heads, and then the horn sounded the

retreat. Around our house they went in a regular stampede, and forming 535
in a line again in front of the house for another charge.
This they repeated a number of times. Then a crowd of women, who 541
had followed their husbands and sweethearts to battle, acted the part of foe, only to be overcome by the brave warriors and driven back. This part was very amusing. One old body with great bravery marched out and charged, using her pipe as her weapon. The men were a bit rough in driving her back, and she was evidently afraid her dear pipe would come to grief, so she took it inside our house and when next we saw her she was in the thick of a fray with a long weed as her weapon of offence and defence".]

The dry season is also the time for travelling. Relatives pay mutual visits, 221
and marriageable young men go to the Nuers and Dinkas with spears, wire, 484
stuffs, and dura, which they exchange for sheep and calves. 574
439

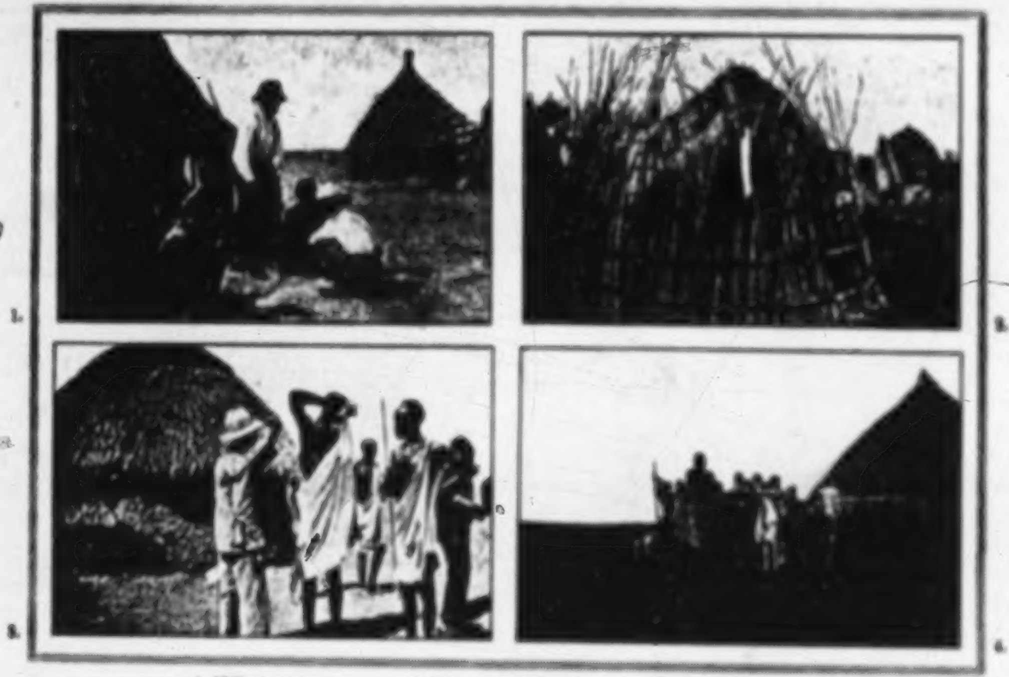
IV. RELIGION.

In the religion of the Shilluks three components ary clearly distinguishable: 771
1. Jwok *(jwɔ̀k)* or God; 2. Nyikang *(Ṅíkàŋ)*, the progenitor and national hero of the Shilluks; 3. ajwogo *(àjwɔ̄gɔ́)*, the witch doctor or sorcerer. These three do not exist separate from each other, but have many relations amongst one another. There are still other forms of religious service, but they are not so prominent as the three mentioned.

"Jwok *(jwɔ̀k)* is a supreme being, residing above". Whether he is regarded JWOK 776
as creator is not sure. According to the sayings of some natives he surely is,
but it seems probable that this belief, if there is such a one, is young, and must 782
be traced back to Mohammedan or Christian influences. — On certain occasions [177]
an ox is killed as a sacrifice to Jwok, though this is done more frequently to Nyikang; prayers are also offered to Jwok, but according to my information, they have only one prayer to Jwok (for which vide page 171), while to Nyikang there are many. "Praying" to Jwok is expressed by a different word from that which serves for designating a prayer to Nyikang; the first is *lāmą* "to pray"; its original meaning is probably: to conjure. In praying to Nyikang *kwachą* "to ask for, to beg" is used. While the prayers to Nyikang are sung, and accompanied by dances, that one to Jwok is only spoken, not sung, and not accom- [793]
panied by dancing. Jwok has no visible symbols or temples, nor are the prayers to him offered by a priest or sorcerer, but by the chief or village-elder.

In the heart and mind of the Shilluk Jwok does not possess a deep-rooted 776
rank. In some way they do attribute good and evil to him, and chiefly the

[Facing p. XL]



1. Village scene 2. "House of Nyikang" 3. A Shilluk giant
4. Typical group of Shilluks; bodies covered with ashes; at the left a Shilluk dog

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776 better; when a person is ill, they may say: *ge jwok* "Why, Jwok?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok. But I do not think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; Jwok has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. [816] The name of Jwok is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *yi kal jwok* "you have brought Jwok"; to one starting on a journey they say: *yi mito jwok* "you may hold fast Jwok". [576] —Jwok has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that Jwok is the causer of sickness; "he is sick", they express by "he has Jwok", "Jwok is upon him". [753]

Although the Shilluk does certainly not connect with the word Jwok the same notion as we do with "God", Jwok is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a Jwok; but this is so in analogous cases with many *African* peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature. [114]

[In older literature the name Kelgo appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

773 NYIKANG AND THE ORIGIN OF THE SHILLUKS

The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, *dean adüh*, came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it (vide page 178). The name of this man was *Kolo*; *Kolo* begat *Omaro*, who begat *Wat Mol* ("son of Mol"); *Wat Mol* begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought out their father, who till then had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name to be Odiljil, he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat (*Nikiya* and *Ocwäte*). One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang; according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. Nyakayo had more children beside Nyikang; of one son the name is known, he was *Umoi*; the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. S.) Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bunyung. Okwa's second wife Ongwat gave birth to one son, *Ju* or *Dimo*. Okwa married

773 a third wife, whose oldest child, a son, was called Duwat *(Dwoŋt)*. The name *Diing* also occurs as that of a son of Okwa, but I could not make out who his mother was. Nyikang was in form partly a man, and partly a crocodile.

> [The exact pronunciation of Nyikang is *Ńįkȧŋ*, but the final *g* is often omitted: *Ńįkȧ*; the form *Ńákȧŋ* also occurs; in older literature the name is written Nyakam, Nyekom. *Ńįkȧŋ* is a composition from *ńį*, *ńa* "son" and *Kȧŋ*, which is probably a proper name; thus *Ńįkȧŋ* means: "son of *Kȧŋ*." The name *Kȧŋ* occurs also in *Okȧŋ*, which is composed from *O* and *Kȧŋ* and means "descendant of *Kȧŋ*; *Okȧŋ* is another name designating the Shilluk people. But about *Kȧŋ* the traditions, as far as they are kown, say nothing. — Frequently Nyikang is simply called *rįt* "king".]

NYAKAO, THE MOTHER OF NYIKANG

776 Nyakayo *(Ńakȧyo)*, the mother of Nyikang, exists up to the present time. Her residing place is about the junction of the Sobat and the White Nile. This 775 is remarkable, as according to the tradition she did not emigrate with her son Nyikang, and yet does not now live in her original place, but in the Shilluk country. She sometimes appears from out the river, generally in the form of a crocodile, but at times in other forms. No worship or sacrifices are offered to her, but when a man or animal is taken by a crocodile, this is attributed to *Ńakȧyo*. When she does this, the people must not complain; it is rather an honour, when she takes her sacrifice from a village.

695 In dubious judicial cases Nyakayo is resorted to as judge. The accused one is tied in a river, and a goat is bound and laid on the river-bank near by. This latter is done to allure a crocodile. If the accused one is taken by the crocodile (i. e. by Nyakayo), he was guilty. But not infrequently the delinquent, from fear of being lacerated by the crocodile, confesses his crime.

NYIKANG'S EMIGRATION

773 Between Nyikang and one of his brothers, probably Duwat, there arose a quarrel after their father's death; according to some, about who should follow the father in the chieftainship, others say it was a quarrel about cattle. As they did not come to an agreement, Nyikang together with *Omgi*, his brother, and his half-brother Ju (and his three sisters), left the country,[1] seeking for a new abode; when he started, *Dwoŋt* threw a digging stick after him, wherewith to dig the ground (or to bury the dead). Several tribes whom he met on his way, joined him, thus increasing the band of his followers. Nyikang settled about the mouth of the Sobat, and here founded the kingdom of the Shilluks. To increase the population of his new foundation, he changed animals and fabulous beings whom he found in the place, into men, built villages for them, and made them his subjects.

NYIKANG'S END

While residing in the Shilluk country, Nyikang fought many wars, among

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[1] "acquiring wings and flying away to the mouth of the Sobat", A. E. S.

773 others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

773 775 But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dāk*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

776 **HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED.** Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

346 778 [532] In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kęt rįt* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akurowar, Wau,[2] Fenyikang, Nyibodo *(Ñibǫdǫ)*, *Otigǫ*, Nyelwal, *Oshärǫ*, *Otigǫ*, *Didigǫ*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of reliques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, [782] ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

776 796 [787] [643] In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

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[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghazal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Taufikia and Kodok.

SWEARING OATHS BY NYIKANG 695

By Nyikang also oaths are sworn. The expressions mostly used in swearing an oath are: *Ńikań shgt!* i. e.: "Nyikang indeed", "by Nyikang!" *Ńikań anan!* i. e. "Nyikang here!" or: "Nyikang now!" Another form is to couple his name with any of the sacred villages, as *Ńikań a Wau!* i. e. "by Nyikang of Wau!" Likewise *Ńikań a Ńelwal*, etc. In their conversations they are constantly using these oaths; they often make promises under oath, which they, however, readily break without any fear of penalty. They swear also by Dak, or any other of the ancient kings.

Another mode of swearing, which is used in judicial cases only, is to swear by the holy spear (of Nyikang): the *ajwago* who keeps the spear, sacrifices a sheep and puts the blood upon the accused and the accuser, and offers a prayer that justice may follow. Now the accuser or the accused or both swear by the holy spear. If a person perjures himself, death is sure to follow as penalty.

HOW NYIKANG APPEARS 778 [776]

Nyikang at times appears in the forms of certain animals, as ichneumons, rats, snakes, lizards, or in birds. The tree on which such a bird alights, is considered holy, and is henceforth dedicated to Nyikang; beads and pieces of cloth are suspended on its branches, sacrifices and prayers are offered below it. When once the Turks felled such a tree without knowing its destination, terror fell on the by-standing Shilluks; they walked in procession round the tree, filled the air with lamentations, and killed an ox to propitiate their ancestor.

NYIKANG AND THE "PROPHETS" 776 782

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Though Nyikang is considered inferior to Jwok, sometimes the names of both are called simultaneously in the same prayer. In some prayers the name of Dak, a son of Nyikang, is also invoked beside that of Nyikang; but this is not frequent. It seems, however, that in some measure the nearest descendants of Nyikang, or rather the ancient kings of the Shilluks, enjoy some kind of veneration, though perhaps this may not be called religious. They sometimes talk about the *rör*, which is the plural of *rit* king, and has in this connection the meaning of "Prophets", or one analogous to that of the "Judges" of the ancient Hebrews. In several villages there are huts, like those of Nyikang, dedicated to one of these ancient kings or "*rör*".

JWOK AND NYIKANG 776

In the political, religious and personal life Nyikang takes a far more important place than Jwok. Nyikang is the national hero, on whom each Shilluk feels proud, who is praised in innumerable popular songs and sayings; he is not only a superior being, but also a man. He is the sublime model for every true Shilluk; everything they value most in their national and private life, has its origin in him: their kingdom and their fighting as well as cattle-breeding and farming. While Nyikang is their good father, who only does them good, Jwok is the great, uncontrollable power, which is to be propitiated, in order to avoid his inflictions of evil.

773 **THE COWS OF NYIKANG** The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd 778 the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedi- 695 cated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

643 The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the 782 king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the 792 cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Obọgọ* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

756 **SORCERY** The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *ajwọgọ*, and what is 791 connected with him; *ajwọgọ* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is pro- 793 bably derived from *jwọk* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him *rain-maker*. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protective against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yat* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwāgo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

ECSTASY 781

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149.

MYTHOLOGY 773

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1].

SOUL, SPIRIT 774

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *tipo*; *wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *tipo* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anyig*; the word is derived from *nęgę* to kill; *anyig* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anyig* is feared.

ABODE OF THE DECEASED 775

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *ji pā jwǫk*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known.

ISLAM 177
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Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that these people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side

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[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

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by side with Arabs and other Mohammedan people, should have preserved their own heathen form of worship, and should, with a few exceptions, look down rather with contempt on the religion of the foreigners. Partly this is explained by their conservativeness and self-confidence, and partly by the fact that their intercourse with Mohammedans was almost exclusively hostile. Whether now that the Pax Britannica makes slave-dealing and raiding impossible and new ideas slowly penetrate the country, Islam will make greater progress, the future will show. A gradual peaceful conquest of the country by Islam is not improbable, because civilisation, as it comes to these people, wears an outspoken islamic stamp.

On Christian Mission work among the Shilluks vide the end of Introduction.

V. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

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RESIDENCE OF THE KING

The Shilluks are the only people of the Sudan who have a Kingdom[1]. The king resides at Fashoda. His residence consists in a large number of huts for himself, his numerous wives and other members of his family and for guests. He possesses large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. When a person of some respect pays him a visit, the king presents him with an ox. — The royal robe consists in a leopard skin. They have also a coronation robe of leopard skin and ostrich feathers, which has been handed down from many generations. The present king has a gorgeous red robe presented by the governor, which he wears on occasions when he meets the higher English officials.

ELECTION

The kingdom of the Shilluks is hereditary in so far as the king must always be a member of the royal family, that is, of the descendants of *Nyikang*, and only a person whose father has been a king, may be elected. There are three houses of the royal family, and the king is elected from each of these royal branches in turn. If there are several brothers in the branch whose turn it is to have the kingship, upon the death of the king one of these brothers will be elected. But in case there is no vacancy during the life of these three brothers, then the sons of the eldest will be in line for the throne.

Fadyet is the present king. He is of the house of Kwat Kur. When he dies, the kingship will pass to the house of *Yį*; at the death of the king from the house of *Yį* it will be the turn of the house of *Ñadǫk*. Thence it will return to the house of Kwat Kur, but not to a son of *Fadyet*, but to one of the king's brothers. When it has gone around the circle again, it will be the turn of a son of *Fadyet*. There seem to be two branches of each house, so that when a king dies, it will be the turn of his eldest son to become king, after five kings have reigned and died. There have been other royal houses, but they have lost their right to the throne. If all the sons of a king die, before it is the turn of one of them to become king, that family loses its royal prerogatives. A left-handed or otherwise deformed man cannot be crowned. When from such or a similar reason the son of a king fails to be crowned, his posterity loose the right to the throne. 643

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[1] "king" is in Shilluk rę̄ḍ or rę̄ṭ; in older literature the word "[illegible]" is given as the Shilluk name for king. By Europeans the king is commonly called mek, which is a contraction of the Arab malik.

As a rule only a man can be king; though once a queen reigned, she apparently did not command a great authority, vide page 149; and it is characteristic that in the lists given by Banholzer and Dr. Giffen her name is not mentioned. [562]

The way in which the king is elected, vide page 122 ff. Of course frequently party intrigues are at work on these occasions, and it may have been not quite so uncommon occurrence that there were several candidates for the throne, supported by different factions; sometimes there were even two kings, residing in different places of the country. [662]

POWER OF THE KING

The power of the king was, previous to the British occupation, absolute; he disposed on life and death of his subjects. The subjects had to pay heavy taxes in cattle, dura, boats, skins for clothes, and under certain circumstances, in persons also. [651]

JURISDICTION

All judicial cases may be brought before the king, with whom lies the final decision. They have an unwritten code of law, providing fixed penalties and fines. Cattle thieves were formerly killed on the spot by the owner of the stolen property. If the thief escaped, but was located with the stolen thing, the owner demanded it. In case the thief refused to give it up and the owner was unable to get it by force, he then reported to his chief, and if he failed there, the matter went to the king, who punished the man perhaps by taking his property and some girls from his village for himself. 691 693 695

In the case of certain infractions of the law the convict became the slave of the king, and could no more return to his home. These slaves are known as *tugi orgà* ("men of crime") or *adjiŋ*. The king gives to such a man a wife. Their children are slaves at the royal court and are called *adjiŋ*. To the male descendants of such the king gives wives, and the females are taken to be given to male members of the *adjiŋ* class as wives. If the king does not have enough girls in the *adjiŋ* class to supply all the young men with wives, he buys free girls for the purpose, their descendants become also slaves. 681 569 [illegible]

In some cases the criminal becomes the slave of a chief; these are also called *adjiŋ*.

Murder cases were tried by a court of chiefs and the king. If the man was condemned, he was disgraced in many ways before the people. Sometimes he was led about the village with a cow-rope around his neck, and then executed by hanging. If a man was executed on account of a crime, his whole family 682 672

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and everything he possessed became the property of the king.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.

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The country is divided into 63 districts (vide page 127), every one of which is presided by a district chief; each village again has its own chief. The district and village chiefs are appointed and may be deposed by the king. Quarrels and law-suits may be judged by the local or district chief, but an appeal to the king is always possible. Common affairs of a village and minor judicial cases are judged by the local chief together with the old men of the village. They sit on such occasions in a circle in the village yard, in the shade of a tree, if there is one. If the meeting is secret, or if the weather is bad, they assemble in the cow-house.

VI. ETHNICAL COMPONENTS OF THE SHILLUK PEOPLE.

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EARLY INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY

When Nyikang arrived in what is now the Shilluk country, the latter was inhabited by other tribes, who probably were partly of dark, and partly of fair colour. These inhabitants were either expelled or subdued and then incorporated into the Shilluk nation. This process is clearly reflected in the traditions. Among others Nyikang found the "red strangers" in the country, which he either defeated and made them tributary, or drove out of their residences (vide page 163 ff). These "red strangers" seem to be Arabs. But apart from them the traditions speak of fabulous beings who were partly men and partly animal; Nyikang fought with them, and when defeated, transformed them into real men and settled them in villages. They are probably the original negro inhabitants of the present Shilluk country, who up to this day form the essential part of the Shilluk people, a discrimination being made between them and the "people of Nyikang."

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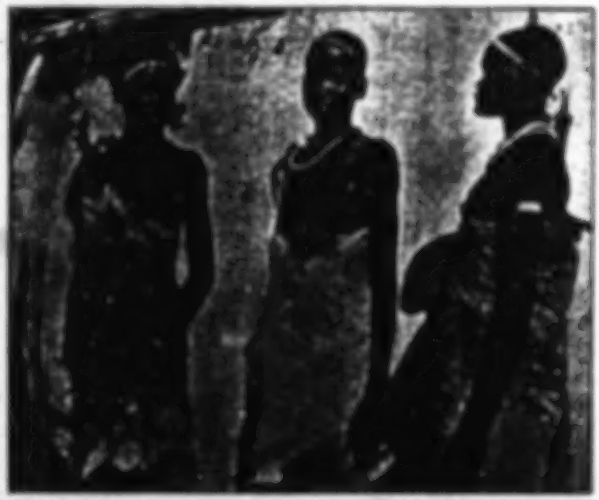
SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The latter form, so to say, a nobility. The first in rank is the royal family and all members of it, that is all persons who can claim descendancy from Nyikang. The male members of the royal family bear the title *Kwa ręt* "descendant of the king", and are shown special deference. In several of the historical traditions the king or the royal family expressly distinguish themselves from the common Shilluks; in these connections the name "Shilluk" is even used in an abusive way: "merely a Shilluk", vide page 153. Probably the name of the Shilluks *cōlo* means "black"; in some nearly related languages the word has this meaning. This makes it probable that Nyikang and his people, or, the members of the royal family, were originally of lighter colour, as only this would give them a reason for calling the population they found inhabiting the country, "blacks".

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323



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1. Shilluk Girls showing the way they wear the skin dress
2. Lotus flower along the Sobat River

[Facing p. xxviii (2)]

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1. Group of Native Huts
2. Group of Boys
3. Girls Sewing School at Doleib Hill

[Facing p. XLVIII (B)]

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

565 174 So the coming of *Nyikang* into the Shilluk country would in fact mean an immigration of light-coloured people into a region already inhabited by black tribes. — Probably the word *Okaŋ*, which, as is shown on page XLI, is connected with *Nyikaŋ*, and means a descendant of *Kaŋ*, also designates only or mainly members of the royal family, and not the common Shilluks; on the Sobat the word is rarely used; but it is well known at Fashoda, the seat of the royal court.

RELATIONS WITH THE NUBIANS

563 There live among the Shilluks a number of "Nubians", called by them *Dɔŋ*; the word is derived from Dongola, and designates the Nubians (and perhaps other tribes) living west of the White Nile. These Nubians came into the country as captives, during wars, others came as fugitives. They are exceptionally numerous in Faina, a sub-district of Nyagir; they are known here as good cultivators of dura. Originally these were driven into this district by the Khalifa's people, and inhabit five villages, consisting of 104 domiciles; they are subject to the Shilluk chief of the district. — The Nubians play a certain *rôle* in the election of the king, vide page 122 ff. They bear the title *Ńadwai*.

RELATIONS WITH THE DINKAS

648 The Shilluks do not, as a rule, agree well with the Dinkas, their northern and eastern neighbours. The Dinka possesses more cattle than the Shilluk, and therefore looks down on the latter rather contemptuously. The Dinkas are said to have formerly lived on the right bank of the lower Sobat, but were driven inland by the Shilluks. Incited by Arabs, the Shilluks in former times frequently raided the Dinkas and carried away their women and cattle. They however live peaceably now, thanks to the fear they have of the new Government. The two tribes now and then pay mutual visits and also intermarry occasionally; a certain amount of trade is carried on between them.

RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS

There are a few Selim Baggara in the neighbourhood of Kaka, but these people appear to visit the district only after the harvest to purchase dura from the Shilluks, which they are too indolent to cultivate themselves. The Kenana Arabs occupy the wells at Atara. They are disliked by the Shilluks on account of their dirty habits. Another branch of the Kenana Arabs inhabit a village close to Fadiang (*Fa dɔŋ* "village of cattle").

VII. MIGRATIONS AND HISTORY.

ORIGINAL SEATS OF THE SHILLUKS, AND WANDERINGS

174 South of the Shilluk country there live, under different names, a number of tribes who likewise speak the Shilluk language (vide page 30 ff.), and who, in their physique, show strong resemblances to, and in some cases identity with, the Shilluks of the White Nile. It must be supposed that originally all these tribes lived in one place. Some of them still have traditions pointing to a common

origin and a common home. The southern mass of the Shilluk speaking people, the Gang, pretend to have come from north (vide Schweitzer, Emin Pascha; Berlin 1898, page 155), and, as will be seen below, the White Nile Shilluks have migrated into their present seats from south; so the original habitat of the whole people will have been in the country situated about the middle of their present seats, that is, along the shores of Bahr el Jebel. Here one division of the Shilluks, the Beri (*Biri*, also written Bair), are still living. The rest of the Shilluks were forced to emigration probably by the arrival of more powerful and warlike tribes coming from east, viz. the Bari and Latuko, who up to the present time inhabit this country. The Shilluks, being thus expelled from their seats, emigrated in three directions: south, north-east, and north-west. The division wandering southwards are now known as Gang or *Acholi*, *Shuli* (on the identity of the names *Acholi*, *Shuli*, and *Chily* vide page 31); the north-eastern branch are the *Anywaks* (*Anuaks*). These two branches, viz. the Gang and the *Anywak*, have practically almost no differences in their dialect; they may be said to speak the same dialect, which differs from the rest of Shilluk dialects by the relative primitiveness of its sounds; to give one example, they have generally preserved *ch* and *p*, where other dialects have adopted the younger corresponding sounds *sh* and *f*. So these two may be regarded as direct branches of the original stock, who both must have branched off about the same time. That Gang and Anywak have been separated from the north-western section at an earlier period than that in which the latter was again divided into different sub-groups (vide below), is evident from the fact that all these north-western sub-groups still know of their common origin, whereas I have never met with a tradition pointing to relationship with the Anywaks and Gang.

The *Anywaks* have again been divided into three sections, whose residences vide page 30. From the Gang a number of smaller divisions have branched off into south-west, south and south-east: the Lur, (*Aluru*), *Jaluo* (*Jafaluo*, *Japaluo*), Lango, *Jo-Luo* (Nyifwa Kavirondo), Wagaya.

The third division first wandered north-westward, crossing the Bahr el *Jebel*, and subsequently probably resided in a place situated about the 29° eastern long. and 7° northern lat. That they have settled and lived in this region for a considerable time, is practically proved by the fact that on older maps a number of villages are situated here whose names begin in *Pa*, *Fa*; e. g. Fadl in the Dinka district *Rol*; Fayot, Fawar, Fayah, in the Dinka district Kich, and Fagah, in the Dinka district Twi (Twich). *Pa*, *Fa* is a word of the Shilluk language meaning village, home (Many villages in the Shilluk country have this same prefix *pa*, *fa*, vide 80); it is also frequent in the *Jur* country: Fanio, Fabochah,

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Fashion, and in the Acholi country: Fanyikwara, Fandikir, Faggair, Fadjulli, Fadibek (from Schweinfurth, Emin Pascha). This district is now inhabited by Dinkas, and their occupation of the country no doubt forced the Shilluks to emigrate once more. From here they went in north-eastern direction and thus came into their present seats on the White Nile and Sobat. *These last wanderings were carried on under the leadership of Nyikang; they form the object of the traditions on pages 158 ff.* Another part of this north-western section went westwards and formed the Bor (= Beli, vide 87) and Belanda or rather *Bgo*, vide page 44. The third part of this branch are the *Jur* and the Dembos. *Jur* is a nickname given to the people by the Dinkas, it means "uncivilized tribe", "bushmen". They call themselves *Luo*, a name which occurs again among several northern Shilluk tribes, vide 89; by the Bongos they are called Bor (vide above), thus showing in their very names the near relationship they have with other Shilluk divisions. — The *Jur* have no cattle, they are renowned as iron smelters.

According to Schweinfurth (page 63) the *Jur* themselves say that they are a part of the Shilluk people who (on account of over-population) emigrated from north (i. e. The White Nile region) into their present habitat, and that they call the name of their ancestor Othwoin = *Ochiti*. But on the other hand, Hofmeyr states that the White Nile Shilluks call the *Jur Oding*, that is descendants of *Dimo*. Now *Dimo* is a brother of Nyikang, whom the latter left. All the Shilluk traditions are unique in the assertion that Nyikang did *not* go northwards together with Dimo. So this would mean that the *Jur* never wandered into the White Nile country, but went their way directly westward into their present seats.

> [The suggestion on the migration of the north-western section, viz. that of the White Nile Shilluks, *Jur*, Dembos, Belandas and Bors, as it has been outlined above, is in a remarkable way supported by traditions of the White Nile Shilluks, which Hofmeyr gives; according to these the origin of the nation was in the far east (i. e. east of the Bahr el Jebel). Nyikang led his people *from the east towards north-west*. After a long march they *crossed the Nile* (i. e. the Bahr el Jebel) and came into that region which is now called Bahr el Ghazal. From here the Belanda went westwards, the rest, after some time, travelling farther northwards.]

THE RULING ELEMENT AMONG THE SHILLUKS

While nothing is known concerning the time of the earlier Shilluk migrations, we are able to fix the approximate date of the wanderings which resulted in the final settlement of the "Proper Shilluks" on the White Nile and Sobat. Mr. B. Struck, by taking into consideration all the available (written or unwritten) chronicles of African dynasties, has made a calculation on the average duration

174 of the reign of an African ruler. The number of years thus reached at is between 13 and 14 for each king. Now from the reign of Nyikang, who was the first Shilluk king, till to-day the Shilluks have had 28 to 30 kings; 29 multiplied with 13½ leads back to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. About this time, then, the Shilluk kingdom was founded, or, in other words, during this period a probably fair-skinned tribe or clan became in some manner united with the Shilluks, and made itself the ruling factor among the latter. The first of these leaders and rulers was Nyikang, or possibly Nyikang is only a personification — the heros eponymos — of the foreign element in the Shilluk population. From those early days up to the present never a "Shilluk", i. e. a member of the original population, has been king, solely the "descendants of Nyikang" forming the royal family, from which the king is elected. 174 Even to-day the descendants of Nyikang do not intermarry with the "Shilluks", 565 they live in districts and villages of their own and enjoy certain privileges, thus forming the aristocracy of the nation. Second in rank are those Shilluks which migrated into the country together with Nyikang as his "followers" or "servants." They also possess several social privileges and state functions. The lowest class of Shilluks are the natives found in the country, when Nyikang and his adherents arrived. They may be designated as the "common people", the "subjects" in the state community. The second and third categories, and also the first, have no doubt been mixed by intermarriage. From the earlier centuries of the Shilluk dynasty but scanty historical data are known. The only reports we have are the list of kings (vide page 135), and a considerable store of traditions, dealing with prominent acts of single kings and important events which occurred during their reign. Some of these native records are printed on pages 141 ff.

RELATIONS WITH THE FUNJ

174 The first time the Shilluks enter history is about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is at the same time when they took possession of their present seats. Beginning at this period they have, during almost two centuries, played an essential part in the history of the *Funj* people. The question of the origin of the Funj is as yet unsettled. In order to introduce the reader into the problem, I shall give a short survey of this remarkable people and their history.

The most common form of the name is Funj or Fonj, and Fung. Funj is in phonetic writing probably *Fuṅ*, ending in a palatal n, and Fung = *Fuŋ*, ending in a velar n. Of these two forms I suppose Funj = *Fuṅ* to be the older one. Foreigners who are not used to a palatal n standing at the end of a word, find its pronunciation difficult, and frequently substitute ŋ for ṅ, a mispronunciation which I myself have often heard in the Sudan. This Funj, Fonj is probably identical with the Shilluk word *bunt* "stranger"; in Shilluk as well as in Nubian b and f are interchanged; in Nuer the word for "stranger" sounds *fun*, and in

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the Funj language the word "bunj" means "Arab", i. e. stranger; the identity of this bunj with Shilluk bunj, *Now funj* and the name Funj can hardly be doubted. Now Bruce gives the singular of the name by "fungo", and the plural "fungi". *This is a pure Shilluk form;* o being in Shilluk the ending of the noun in singular, and i that of the plural. The meaning of the word "fungo" Bruce renders by "free citizen". (R. Hartmann [Die Nigritier] identifies the word Funj with the Phoenophaeae of the ancients, and moreover compares it with a great number of African names of similar sounding; but his deductions have not convinced me.) 174 [114]

The present Funj are a negro people living in Sennar. Their colour is dark, but somewhat lighter than that of the Shilluks; they are of a strong, tall figure, with thin legs. Both sexes wear most artful hair dresses. They have leather shields in form almost like those of the Shilluks; their fighting arms are swords and missiles. The huts of the Funj consist in round walls with conical roofs. Their chief occupation is agriculture, but they have also some cattle. They are clever in smithing and working iron and other metals.

Their religion is Islam, but the older records are unique in stating that at the end of the 15th century they were heathens, and even when Bruce was in the country, many pagan practices had survived; it almost seems that at that time the people still were in their hearts rather pagans than true followers of Islam, though the latter had long before become the official religion.

The Funj country, Dar Fung, stretches on both sides of the Blue Nile. Its present boundaries are: on the north, *Jebels Gereiwa* and Baru; on the east, *Jebel Agadi* and the Famaka district. Southwards, it extends to the *Abyssinian* frontier, and including the district of Keili and the northern Burun country, extends westwards towards the Dinkas of the White Nile. In the days when the Fung were a great power of the Sudan, their country included parts of *Abyssinia*, and large districts west of the White Nile.

About the beginning of the 16th century the Funj appear in history. At this time they founded the kingdom of Sennar, which, from then till about the end of the 18th century, was governed by a Funj dynasty.

Since the early days of their history the Fung must have lived in some connection with the Shilluks. This fact is stated by all travellers and explorers who have been in the country and have written on the subject. *Sir James Bruce*, a distinguished English traveller and writer, who visited Sennar in 1770, asserts *the identity of the Shilluks and Fung.* In his Travels into *Abyssinia* he says that in 1504 a hitherto unknown negro nation, which had till then inhabited the western shores of the Bahr el Abiad about the 13° northern lat., landed in canoes in the Arab provinces of the Gezira; they defeated Wad Ageeb, the 174 101

174 king of Sennar, and forced a treaty upon him by which the kingdom of Sennar became subject to the Funj, who subsequently took possession of the whole 101 Gezira. "*This negro nation is in their own country called Shillook*".[1] In 1504 Amru, the son of Adelan, who was the first of their regents, founded his monarchy on the eastern shores of the Blue Nile, and built Sennar, which ever since has been the capital. "From this period until the time of my sojourn (1770) 266 years had passed, during which twenty kings had reigned[2]. When the monarchy was founded, *the king and the whole nation of the Shillook were pagans*. Soon after they accepted Mohammedanism, and took the name Fungi, which they sometimes translate by "lord" or "victor", and sometimes by "free citizen" . . . . but this term should be applied to those born east of the Bahr el Abiad only".

So the essence of James' report is this: The Funj are a portion of the Shilluk people, which, in the beginning of the 16th century, crossed the White Nile, conquered Sennar, founded a kingdom there, and henceforth were called and called themselves Funj. The source from which Bruce got this information, was the executioner of the royal court, whose chief office it was to put the king to [114] death, as soon as in the opinion of the state ministers he was, from old age or on account of his misdoings, no more apt to govern the country. This same practice has been in use with the Shilluks up to the nearest past, with the sole difference that the Shilluk kings were strangled by their chief wife, not by an official. Bruce, having cured the executioner from a severe disease, gained the full confidence of this important person, who no doubt was well acquainted with the history of his people. Bruce also mentions the presence of Nubian (heathen) priests at the court of Sennar, who were, according to the executioner's statement, "great conjurers and sorcerers". From these Nubians Bruce heard of the "large mountains Tegla and Dyre" (= Jebel Tagale and Jebel Eliri in south-eastern Kordofan), from which their, the Nubians', forefathers had come into this country a long time ago, after they had been escaped there from a great flood.

According to the report given in The A. E. S. the rise of the kingdom of Sennar began in 1493. In that year Amara Dunkas (= Amru of Bruce?), the Sheikh of a sub-section of the Fung, either through the fortune of war or his superior capacity, succeeded in getting himself declared king of all the Fung tribes. These districts were inhabited by negroes belonging to the Nuba tribes, some of whom after the conquest remained in the country, while others emigrated into the mountains of Fazogli and Kordofan. Those who remained, embraced Islamism, intermarried with their conquerors, and, losing their language and nationality, were soon lost in the tribes known collectively under the name of Fung. King Baadi Abu Dign, who reigned from 1635—1671, *attacked the Shilluk negroes and took a large number of slaves.* The Shilluks at that time inhabited the country on both sides of the White Nile south of Kawa. Thence he invaded the mountains of Tagale and destroyed Kordofan, where he again took a large number of slaves. On his return to Sennar he built a number of villages in that district for his prisoners. The prisoners named those villages after those they had left, hence the number of villages now near Sennar with names similar the those in Jebel Nuba, Tagale, and other districts about Kordofan. In time these slaves supplied the kings of Fung with recruits for their armies. — In 1719 a king whose name was *Gaadi Abu Shilluk* ascended the throne.

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[1] Bruce has never been in the Shilluk country, and had probably never before heard the name "Shilluk", he can only have learned it in Sennar from the natives.
[2] Thus the average reign of each king was a little more than thirteen years! vide above.

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In the first half of the 18th century the Fungs drove the Darfurians back, which had at that time dominion over the country east of the White Nile as far as the Athara; the Fungs then again established their own authority on the banks of the White Nile. In 1770 they even wrested the province of Kordofan from the Darfur kings, but it was retaken by the latter five years later. This was about the time when the Dinkas emigrated from the Bahr el Ghazal and took possession of the right bank of the White Nile, under their great chief Akwai Chakab; by them the Fungs were expelled from the eastern shores of the White Nile into the Blue Nile region.

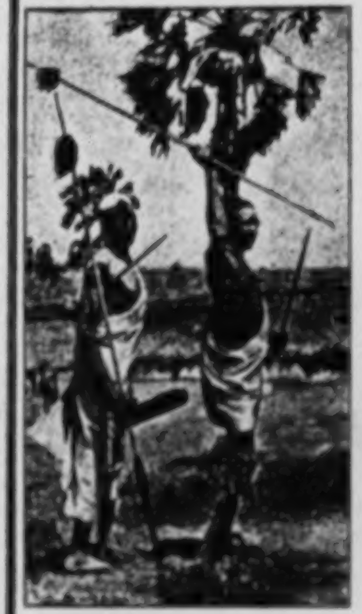
According to Cailliaud, a French writer, who was in Sennar about 1820, the "Foungi" came from the Sudan, crossed the White Nile and arrived at "Arbagny" (= Herbagi of Bruce); here a great battle was delivered, in which the Funj were victorious, so that they became lords of the country; "they gave their name to a part of the Sennar kingdom in the Bouroum (= Burun) country, called also Jebel Fungi, *where the soldiers of the mek live*".

R. Hartmann, who visited the country in 1859/60, is of the opinion that the original home of the Funj is in Sennar. "They recruited their (black) soldiers from their military colonies, which were situated at the foot of the Sennar hills, and from Kordofan Nubas." "Between 1499 and 1530 the christian state of Aloa (Alwa) succumbed under the invasion of the Funj, who broke forth from the south of Sennar, and *whose military force consisted partly of Shilluks*". "*The Shilluks are relations of the Funj,* whose intimate allies they were during the conquest of Sennar in the 16th century."

Cailliaud and the A. E. S. as well as Bruce give a list of the Funj kings, which, though differing in several items, is on the whole consistent. Bruce fixes the beginning of the dynasty in the year 1504, Cailliaud in 1484, and A. E. S. in 1493.

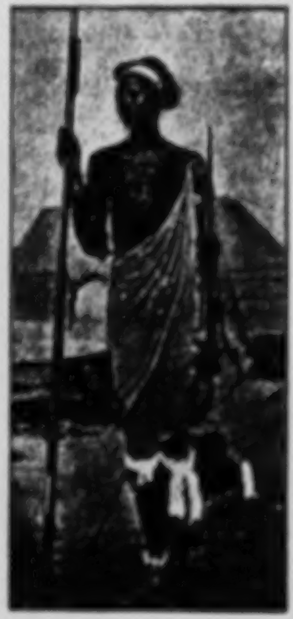
Leaving the question of the provenience of the Funj alone, the following one

[Facing p. LVI]



Shilluk Women in arms for a mock-fight, carrying clubs, spears and a "club-shield"

Two men in arms



A Shilluk Warrior with two spears and a club; below knee strips of sheep-skin. Note the tattooings on the breast

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179 be regarded as sure: 1. The kingdom of Funj was founded in the beginning of the 16th, or at the end of the 15th century. 2. the political influence of the Funj
101 extended at times westward beyond the White Nile, as far as Darfur and Kordofan; consequently the Shilluks must also have been under the dominion of the Funj, as their country is situated on the way to Kordofan. 3. All writers confirm that the Funj have repeatedly transplanted great numbers of Shilluk and Kordofan prisoners into the Funj country, where they were settled, formed large colonies of their own, and finally submerged in the "Funj" nation. It was these large numbers of new settlers who formed the bulk of the Funj armies and enabled them to carry on their great conquests. 4. But it is not at all improbable that portions of the Shilluk people should have emigrated into Sennar of their own will; the coincidence of the arrival of the Shilluks in the White Nile region and the foundation of the Funj kingdom is remarkable; both events took place about the beginning of the 16th century; at that time the Shilluks inhabited both shores of the White Nile as far north as Kawa; consequently they lived in close contact with the people of Sennar, and it seems not unlikely that parts of them should have pushed forward into Sennar, the more so as they had only just arrived in the country and were not yet finally settled; such an emigration would also explain their now being limited to a relatively small district compared with the former much larger size of the Shilluk country. 5. The Shilluks themselves tell in their traditions of repeated and severe fights against the people of Sennar; they call the place where these were fought, Obai, and say it is close to Roseires on the Blue Nile, that is east of *Jebel* Gule, where the old capital of the Funj was situated. 6. Cailliaud in his book "Voyage à Méroé, names 30 villages beginning in *Fa*, in the Bertat and Fazogl country on both sides of the Blue Nile; as shown above, *Fa* is the characteristic prefix of Shilluk villages, being an abbreviation of *fa, pa* "village". It seems evident that these villages are originally settlements of the Shilluks who emigrated into those regions. 7. The Shilluks living in Sennar called the aboriginal inhabitants "bunɔ or *funɔ*" (= Funj, Fung) that is "strangers", just as to-day they call every one who is not a Shilluk: bunɔ (= bung), and finally this became the name of the "Funj nation". 8. It is possible that this Shilluk population in Sennar came to political influence and took part in the government of the state. This becomes even highly probable by a very curious remark of Bruce; where he translates the name Fungi by "free citizens" he continues: "Nobles they should not boast of the title "free citizens", because the first name of nobility in this country is that of 'slave', indeed they have no other title except this. If a man in Sennar finds himself not sufficiently respected, he will ask at once: Do you not know who I am? Do you not know I am a

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slave? Connecting with this word the same notion of pride, as one in England would say: 'Do you not know I am a peer of the kingdom?' All titles and offices are not respected, if they are not in the hands of a man who is a slave. Slavery is in Sennar the only true nobility". This subversion of social ranks becomes intelligible, if we assume a state of facts as suggested above, viz. that the Shilluks, and perhaps also, in a limited number, the Nubians, who lived in the country as a kind of military caste and still were designated as slaves, had in fact become the ruling race. They may even at times have possessed the throne, as the name of one of the Funj kings indicates: Gandi Abu Shilluk. — Thus we understand also the report of the executioner from whom Bruce got his information: he was a descendant of the Shilluk immigrants, and considering the position the latter held at that time, he was not wrong in saying the Funj were originally Shilluks. The same is to be said of the Nubian priests, who claimed for their home the region of the Eliri mountains. 9. The present language of the Funj, of which Marno gives some 150 words, is not identical with the Shilluk language, but it shows unmistakable signs of a connection with the latter, a number of words being common to both, notably

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Funj.	Shilluk.
bany Arab	*bwoṅ* stranger, Arab
chilau ant	[illegible] white ant
damma to eat	*chamo* to eat
nań hippo	*ńań* crocodile
kai giraffe	*kal* game
juk God	*juok* God
kilo star	*kyelo* star
mino dumb	*mino* dumb
kaj on to-day	*kach* on this time
bo-ang spear	*toṅ* spear
lua stick	*luj, luy* stick, club.

Thus out of a number of about 150 Funj words given by Marno 11 are Shilluk words; and, what is remarkable, these eleven words the Funj has not in common with its neighbouring languages Tabi and Bertat, they can therefore not be borrowed from these languages.

175 In 1786 the kingdom of the Funj really disappeared. King Adlan was deposed by the Hamag (Hamaj), a tribe living south of Roseires. Anarchy prevailed throughout the country, and the kings succeeded each other in such rapid succession that in the year 1788 four kings successively reigned. During the succeeding 33 years of anarchy the Hamag continued supreme, and under Sheikh Nasser they devastated the northern and eastern part of the Sudan with

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fire and sword.

In 1820 the Turkish-Egyptian troops under Ismail Pasha occupied the country and defeated the *Funj* in the battle of *Abu Shoka*.

Apart from these expansions towards the Blue Nile the Shilluks of the White Nile have frequently waged wars against the Dinkas and Nuers, of which their traditions tell. More severely they suffered from never-ending raids by Arabs and Turks, undertaken for the purpose of stealing cattle and slaves.

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CONQUEST OF THE SHILLUK COUNTRY

a) By the Turks. As early as 1820—1830 the Sudan was conquered by the Turko-Egyptian government, and was considered as part of the Turkish empire; but this hardly affected the political situation of the Shilluk kingdom, the Turkish rule not being strong enough to make its influence felt, except in levying at intervals heavy taxes in cattle and corn, and in making slave raids.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER'S EXPEDITION

b) By the Baggara Selim. In 1861 the Baggara Selim under Faki Mohammed Kher invaded the Shilluk country and plundered it thoroughly. Mohammed Kher married the daughter of the Shilluk king and practically made himself the ruler of the country. —[1] In the same year Sir Samuel Baker started for his expedition into the Sudan. His description of the Sudan at this period gives a melancholy picture of the results of Egyptian rule. He describes the provinces as utterly ruined and only governed by military force, the revenue unequal to the expenditure, and the country paralysed by excessive taxation; the existing conditions rendered these countries so worthless to the State that their annexation could only be accounted for by the fruits of the slave trade. — On this expedition Baker founded the military post of Tewfikia on the right bank of the White Nile, near the mouth of the Sobat; this place has since then consistently been continued as a station for troops.

On Ismail Pasha coming to the throne in 1863 orders for the suppression of the slave trade were issued and on Baker's return journey in 1865, he found an Egyptian camp of 1000 men established at Kodok in the Shilluk country for the purpose. — Khartum was at that time the headquarters of the slave traders, who carried out their traffic under the cloak of legitimate commerce. The traders organized armies of brigands, and formed chains of stations, of about 300 men each, throughout their districts, which they had leased from Government. Raids were made on native tribes, who were obliged to submit, fly the country, or ally themselves to the slave hunters, to be used against other tribes.

CONQUEST BY THE EGYPTIANS 1871

In 1871 the Shilluk country was finally conquered by the Egyptians and became a province of the Turkish empire.

In 1874 Charles Gordon was appointed Governor of the Equatorial Provinces, and at the close of the same year he could report to the Egyptian Government that the slave trade on the White Nile had received a deadly blow.

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[1] The following data have with few exceptions been taken from The A. E. S.

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During Gordon's absence in 1875, the Shilluk tribes in the neighbourhood of Kodok rose in rebellion against the oppression of the Government, and, had it not been for the presence of Gessi, an Italian adventurer who had joined Gordon's staff, Kodok would probably have been lost.

REBELLION OF THE SHILLUKS 1875

A great cause of disturbance in the Sudan was the appearance of the Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed, a native of Dongola; he began his career in 1881. The Shilluks and their country were in many ways affected by these troubles; not only did they with their own troops fight against the Mahdi, but their young men also formed a considerable and valuable part of the Anglo-Egyptian army.

DISTURBANCES OF THE MAHDI, BEGINNING IN 1881

The Mahdists extended their invasions far into the Sudan and took possession also of the Shilluk country. But in 1890 the Shilluks rebelled against their oppressors; an Emir of the Mahdi Zeki, Tumal, was sent thither to quell the rebellion, with a force chiefly consisting of the Gallabat men who had fought bravely against the Abyssinians in 1889. During the whole of 1891 the war against the Shilluks continued, the Mahdists ("Dervishes") on more than one occasion being heavily defeated, and the communications between Omdurman, the residence of the Khalifa, and Bahr el Jebel being completely interrupted. Two steamers had stuck in the sudd in the winter of 1888, and had been taken by the Shilluks; desperate efforts were now made by the Dervishes to effect their recapture. In August, 1891, the Nuers were used as allies by the Dervishes, and succeeded in killing the king of the Shilluks. Soon afterwards, however, the Nuers turned against their allies and expelled them from the country south of Kodok, whilst the Shilluks inflicted a severe defeat on their enemy near Kodok, in December, 1891, and again in January, 1893. The war was waged with indecisive results till 1894, when the Dervishes finally crushed the Shilluks and murdered their king's wife. After that the Dervishes merely kept a small tax-collecting outpost at Kodok.

On the 10th September, 1898, Kitchener left Omdurman for the south with five gunboats and troops, and having destroyed a Dervish force of 700 at Renk, arrived at Kodok on the 19th, where he found the French expedition under Marchand. He left a garrison at Fort Sobat. This place has been relinquished since as a military post.

On 19th January, 1899, an agreement was signed between Great Britain and Egypt, defining the status of the Sudan, and laying down broad principles for its government.

In the same year, on the 24th November, the power of the Khalifa Abdallah, who was the successor of Mohammed Ahmed, was utterly defeated by the Anglo-Egyptian army at Um Debreika; the Khalifa himself was killed. This victory finally stamped out the Dervish dominion in the Sudan.

FINAL DEFEAT OF THE KHALIFA 1899

175 648 EXPEDITION OF THE ABYSSINIANS 1898

In summer 1898 an *Abyssinian force* came down the Sobat. It arrived at Sobat mouth at the end of June, but, owing to the death of the leader, the expedition returned almost immediately, without having a hostile encounter with the Shilluks.

LATEST EVENTS

In April, 1903, the Shilluk king Kur Wat Nyedok *(Nagot)* was deposed for malpractices; his successor, Fadyet Wat Kwat Kur *(Kyr)*, is now limited in power, and is subservient in most things to the Governor of the Upper Nile Province, a British officer resident in the town of Kodok (Fashoda). Gradually the whole Shilluk population was now brought under the more direct control of the Anglo Egyptian Government. The election of their king is now subject to the approval of the Governor General.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN.

BY CHARLES R. WATSON, PHILADELPHIA.

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The "American Mission" of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Church Missionary *Society* of Great Britain are the two missionary agencies representing Protestant Christendom in the Egyptian Sudan. Both Missions began their work after the opening up of the Sudan through Kitchener's victory over the Mahdi forces at Omdurman: the Church Missionary Society in 1899 and the American Mission in 1900. In Northern Sudan they labor alongside of each other in a spirit of comity and cooperation, each developing such missionary work as the other may not have taken up at each station occupied by both societies.

The stations occupied by the American Mission in Northern Sudan and the forces and work maintained at these stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: An ordained American missionary; a native ordained native pastor; an organized native congregation with 142 members; a boys' school with an enrollment of 210; regular congregational services; a clinic; a boys' orphanage or home.

Khartum North: Two unmarried American women missionaries and an American doctor; a girls' boarding school with an enrollment of 133 in both day and boarding departments; a boys' day school with an enrollment of 143; a clinic; regular preaching services.

Omdurman: An ordained American missionary; a boys' school with an enrollment of 80; regular preaching services.

Wad Medani: A colporteur evangelist with regular preaching services; a mixed school with an enrollment of 8 boys and 12 girls.

Atbara: A boys' school with an enrolment of 87; also informal services.

Wadi Halfa: A girls' school just opened, and informal services.

Port Sudan, Merowe, Suakin and Dueim: There are native Evangelical Church members at these centers, and informal services are held at the first three places.

The stations occupied by the Church Missionary Society in Northern Sudan and the forces and work maintained at these stations in 1911 were as follows:

Khartum: One unmarried English missionary; four native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 68.

Omdurman: A medical English missionary; two unmarried English women missionaries; three native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 51; a hospital and a clinic.

Atbara: An unmarried English woman missionary; two native Christian women workers; a girls' school with an enrolment of 38.

In Southern Sudan, among the pagan tribes, each Mission labors in a distinct territory. The American Mission's sphere of work and influence lies along the Sobat River; that of the Church Missionary Society lies along the upper reaches of the White Nile.

The American Mission opened work at Doleib Hill, in 1902 on the Sobat River just six miles from where this river empties into the White Nile. The American force here consists of two industrial missionaries, an ordained missionary and a doctor. A regular Sabbath morning service is held, and those engaged in industrial work, ranging in number from ten to two hundred, attend daily morning service. Evangelistic itinerating is done in adjoining villages. A boys' school has been maintained but w[illegible]ome irregularity. Some [illegible] clinic patients have been treated. Agriculture[illegible]ustrial training forms the chief feature of the Mission's work. The population of this region is from the Shilluk tribe, but Dinka and Nuers are also reached. The Mission is about to open another station farther up the Sobat River in the vicinity of Nasser, and a doctor and an evangelistic missionary have been appointed to this task.

The Church Missionary Society began its work at Malek, on the White Nile, about 1000 miles south of Khartum, in 1906. The British missionary force consists of two ordained men, a lay worker, and a doctor. The work is chiefly among the Thain, Bor and inland Dinkas.

The following sketch of the early missionary efforts of the American Mission will be of interest. In 1899, the Rev. Andrew Watson, D. D., and the Rev. J. K. Giffen, D. D., were commissioned to visit the Egyptian Sudan and investigate the possibilities for missionary work. This missionary reconnaissance resulted in a recommendation that the American Mission, whose work in Egypt

797 extended from Alexandria to Assuan and whose Evangelical Church members and adherents were going into the Sudan in considerable numbers as Government employees, should extend its work to the Sudan. Accordingly, the Rev. J. R. Giffen, D. D., and Dr. H. T. McLaughlin were commissioned as the first missionaries of the proposed Mission. They reached Omdurman in December, 1900. For some time, a rigorous prohibition of the Government forbade all missionary work among the Moslems of Northern Sudan. The work was therefore limited to the Evangelical and other Christian communities. In March, 1902, work was begun at Doleib Hill, among the black tribes of Southern Sudan. In establishing this mission station practically everything remained to be done. Houses needed to be provided; at first of mud, later of burnt brick, and later still of concrete. Provisions needed to be secured and gardening became a necessity, for no vegetables or fruit were to be had unless grown by the missionaries themselves. Problems of health became acute, as life and work were thus undertaken in a region and a climate where hitherto no white community had established itself. To these difficulties were added those of safety from wild animals, and especially innumerable snakes which infested the place until the land was somewhat cleared by agriculture. There were also the problems of establishing just and sympathetic relations with the people of the neighborhood. The early attitude of suspicion which prevailed is well illustrated by the following incident narrated by the Rev. Dr. Giffen in his interesting book "The Egyptian Sudan." 797

648 "We had been there for some months, and thought we had gained much confidence from the people. We had a friend visiting us and this chief, Ajo, had called in honor of our guest. After some conversation, our friend said to Ajo: 'Now you have a good and righteous Government; it will protect you, and will help you; it will fight your battles if need be. And these missionaries will teach your children, will help you to cultivate your lands, will find a market for your grain, and they have The Book and will teach you of God; you ought now to be quiet and peaceable. Till your lands and care for your herds.'

"After a good deal of deliberation and smoking, Ajo laid his pipe aside and replied: 'Master, you speak well. We had here the Turks (the old Egyptian Government) and they said, "Be submissive to us; we will protect you, we will fight your battles for you, we will teach you of God." But they took our cattle, they destroyed our villages, and carried our women and children into slavery, and they are gone. Then came the Ansar (the Mahdists) and they said: "Come with us, we have a great army; we will care for you and protect you; we will give you plenty to eat, and a good place to live; we have The Book and we will teach you of God". But they slew our men, and right here

where those missionaries built their houses many of our men fell fighting for 797
their women and children. They took away our cattle, destroyed our villages,
carried off our women and children, and they too have gone. Now you come 648
and say: "We will care for you; we will protect you; we will fight for you; we have *The Book*; we will teach you." Master, you speak well; but we will see."

"This brief, pathetic story, a review of their whole history, reveals everything."

The supreme problem in the new work was, however, the language, for the 797
Shilluk language had never been reduced to writing, neither was any grammar of the language in existence. The missionaries sent to the Southern Sudan mission field labored successively to reduce the language to writing and to work out its grammar and vocabulary, but they were greatly hampered both by the burden of other work and by an entire lack of acquaintance with cognate African languages. However, the Rev. Ralph Carson and the Rev. Elbert McCreery especially were able to bring together considerable material bearing upon the structure and vocabulary of the Shilluk language, but it remained for the efforts with which this book is connected to set forth with adequate definiteness the grammatical structure of the language. These efforts became possible through a generous grant made by the Trustees of the Arthington Fund, to the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America under whose care the American Mission in the Sudan is operated.

Among the successes of missionary work during the brief period of about a decade which has elapsed since this work was begun, may be enumerated the following important achievements: the ministry to the religious life of many Christians, Egyptians, Levantines and Europeans who entered the Sudan in Government service; the establishment of preaching centers and of both educational and medical missionary institutions whose Christian influence is steady and far-reaching; the solution of problems of health, of residence and of agricultural possibilities; the solid foundations laid for the mastery of the language; the winning of the sympathy of the people; and, finally, a hopeful beginning in the winning of some to Christianity and in the awakening of a spirit of inquiry in a much larger circle.

The most serious problem is the rapid advance of Islam into pagan territory through the aggressive efforts of Moslem traders and the pervasive influence of military posts at which are stationed Moslem troops.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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SKETCH MAP

TO ILLUSTRATE "WESTERMANN, THE SHILLUK PEOPLE, THEIR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE".

[p. LXIVa]

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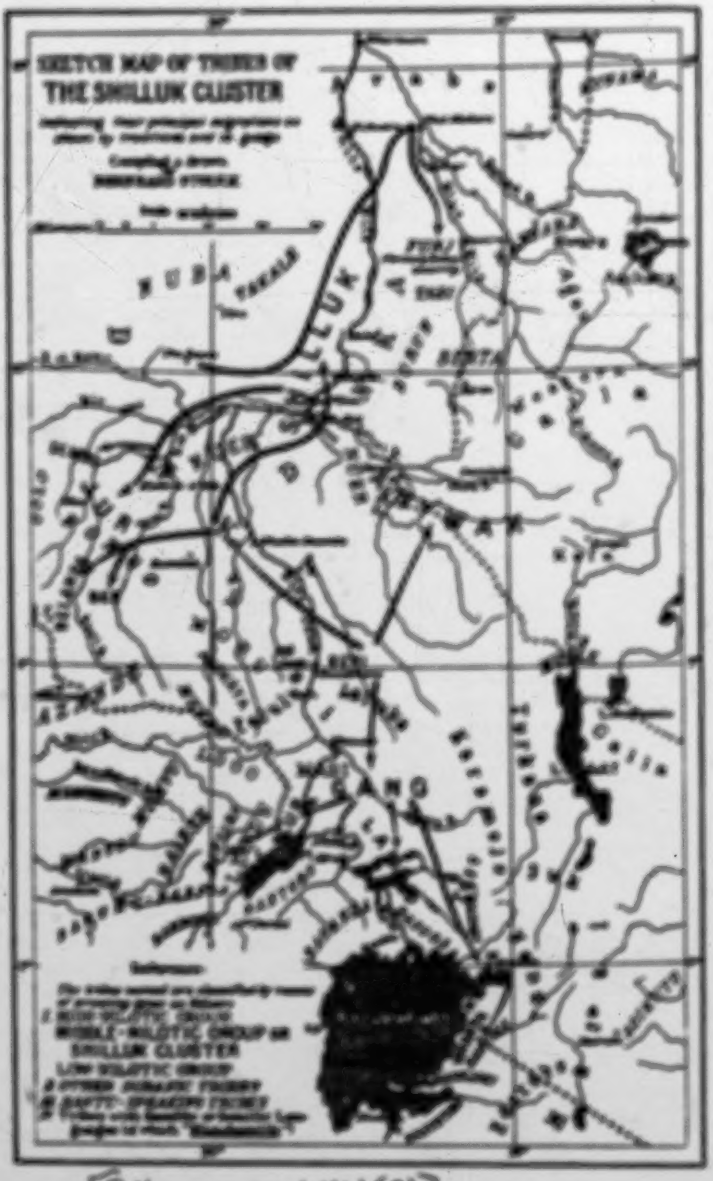
SKETCH MAP OF TRIBES OF
THE SHILLUK CLUSTER
NUBA
FUNJ
SHILLUK
BERTA
LANGO
MIDDLE-NILOTIC GROUP or
SHILLUK CLUSTER
LOW NILOTIC GROUP

[following p. LXIV (8)]

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FIRST PART

GRAMMAR

[p. 1]

FIRST SECTION: THE SOUNDS.

THE VOWELS.

Enumeration of the Vowels and their Pronunciation.

194 The *quality* of vowels is marked by signs *below* the letters, the *quantity* is marked by signs *above* the letters. *Long* vowels are marked by a line, thus: ā = long *a*. All vowels which have no mark above, are *short*.

a is the pure short "Italian" a, the same sound as in English father, only *short*, while a in father is long. The short pure a does not exist in English, but in French, as ami, and in German hatte. Ex.: *kal* fence, *mak* catch!

a is a little narrower than *a*, but wider than *ę*. The Shilluk *a* sometimes, especially when pronounced rapidly, has a tendency to turn into *ę*, for instance *ńa* "child", and *ma* "which", when standing in compound words, are generally spoken *ńę*, *ńę* or even *ńe*; *mę*, *mę*.

ę (Bell *æ* low-front), as in English fat, man, perhaps a little more tending towards *e*, as in English let, well. Ex.: *bę* go! *bęį* fish-spear.

e (Bell *e* mid-front) as in French *été*. This sound is not frequent. Ex.: *atet* ichneumon.

ẹ (Bell *eh* mid-mixed), a very short, and almost voiceless sound, like e in below, fishes, or like a in idea. It is the so-called 'helping vowel'. The short *e* does not occur at the end of a word, whereas *ẹ* very often finishes a word. In all these cases *e* is written instead of *ẹ*. Thus *e* at the end of a word is always to be read *ẹ*. Only where *ẹ* stands in the middle of a word, it is marked *ẹ*; ex.: *nẹkẹ* killed.

į (Bell *i* high-front) like *i* in bit, pity; ex.: *wįtį* arrived, *kįnọ* thus.

i as in beer, keen, he, but *shorter*; ex.: *abikųęl* six.

ạ (Bell *a* mid-back), a sound between *a* and *ǫ*, like u in but; ex.: *ǫgt* river.

ǫ (Bell *ɔ* low-back), as in not, folly; ex.: *gǫ* him, *gǫl* court, *ąql* out. If *ǫ* stands at the end of polysyllabic words, it is pronounced very faintly, so that often merely an *ẹ* is heard. But on close attention one will in most cases hear the *ǫ*. In analogy with *ẹ*, this *ǫ* ought to be written *ǫ̣*, but as it occurs at the end of words with more than one syllable only (and *ǫ* never occurs here), I always write *ǫ* instead of *ǫ̣*.

o like o in note, mote, but shorter and narrower, and without the final sounding of u, which the English o in note has. In French seau, German so, ital. dolore. Ex.: *boį* club.

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ụ (Bell u high-back), as in English full, put, ex.: *bụ* to have not.
u like Engl. fool, mood, but *shorter*. French sou. Ex.: *kudẹ* to be silent.

System of the Vowels.

a
ä a
ọ ẹ
o e
ụ ę ị
u i

Long Vowels.

All vowels, including *ę*, may be long.
ā (Bell a mid-back) engl. father, ital. padre, German Vater.
ǟ between ā and ǭ, almost as u in further; ex.: *fǟḍe* to fall.
ẹ̄ almost as a in careful, ai in laird, ei in heir; ex.: *ṭẹ̄ṇ* people, *nẹ̄ṇ* much.
ē as *a* in save, bale; ex.: *yḗyẹ* to sweep.
ę̄: *yę̄t* roads.
ị̄: *chị̄n* bowels.
ī (Bell i high-front) as in meal, bear; ex.: *rīṅg* to run.
ō (Bell o mid-back), as o in mole, note, but narrower, and without the final sound of u, which is peculiar to this English o; ex.: *chō̤ṭị* it is finished.
ọ̄: *ngọ̄ṭị* not yet.
ū as oo in fool, cool; ex.: *rūṃg* to think.

Remarks.

1. The vowels are pronounced with a soft aspiration (the so-called gradual glottid).
2. *i* and *u*, when standing in a closed syllable, that is a syllable ending in a consonant, generally are pronounced almost ị and ụ.
3. In forming ụ and ị the mouth is wider opened than in the formation of *u* and *i*; ụ and ị may therefore be called wide vowels, while *u* and *i* are narrow. (In forming *u* the hind-part of the tongue is raised, in forming ụ it is lowered; likewise in the formation of *i* the forepart of the tongue is raised, and in forming ị it is lowered.
4. According to their place of formation in the mouth *u*, ụ and *o* are back (or velar) vowels, *i*, ị *e*, ẹ are front (palatal) vowels.
5. The language has no nasal vowels.
6. *o* and ọ, *e* and ẹ are not so strictly distinguished as is done in some other languages.

Diphthongs.

194 *ai* as *y* in *spy*. *au* as *ow* in fowl. *oi* as *oi* in oil.
ou as *o* in note, but the *u* sound is more distinct than in the English *o*.
ei almost as ei in eight, but the *i* is heard more distinctly than in English; *ei* and *ou* are almost two-syllabic.

The sounds *ch*, *j*, *sh* and *ñ*, when following a vowel, generally have a slight *i* sound before them, which combines with the preceding vowel to a diphthong. This *i* sound is, however, not expressed in writing, because 1. it occurs regularly before the said consonants, and 2. some individuals pronounce it so slightly, that in some cases one may doubt, whether it really exists. Thus *pach* "home" is to be pronounced *paich*; *goch* "beaten": *goich*; *bang* "to refuse": *baing*.

This *i* sound is best heard in those cases, when the preceding vowel is *a*, *o* or *e*.

If, however, a vowel follows the above mentioned consonants, so that the word does not end in a consonant, but becomes two-syllabic, the *i* sound sometimes disappears altogether. The reason for this is, the connection between the first vowel and the second consonant not being so narrow here as in the case in a monosyllabic word. Thus "*goch*" is pronounced "*goich*", but *goja* hardly has any *i* sound. Likewise "*lach*" = "*laich*", but *laja* = *la-ja* without an *i* sound.

Semivowels.

y as *y* in yes; it has never the vocalic value as in the English *spy*.
w as *w* in well; *w* is sometimes pronounced with almost unrounded lips.
y and *w* are unsyllabic *i* and *u*.

When following a vowel, also when beginning a word, *y* and *w* have a slight *i* and *u* sound before them; thus *yiye* to believe almost sounds *iyiye*, *wor* night and *awa* yesterday almost sound *uwor*, *auwa*. These *i* and *u* sounds are not expressed in writing.

Combinations of consonant and semivowel are very frequent.

THE CONSONANTS.

Enumeration of the Consonants and their Pronunciation.

b as in English; Ex.: *bang* to refuse.
ch is a palatal *t*; in phonetic writing *t'*; it is therefore not quite the same sound as in church, child. The sound is articulated *further back in the mouth*, and therefore is *thinner*. Ex.: *chol* Shilluk. See also *j* and *sh*.

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d as in English; Ex.: *dɔ̄ŋ* to fall; when standing between two vowels, it is hardly distinguishable from *r*.

ḍ is an interdental *d*; put the tongue between the teeth-rows, so that it is visible from without between the teeth, then press it lightly against the upper teeth, and pronounce a *d*. Ex.: *ḍok* mouth.

f as in English; sometimes *f̣*, that is, an *f* pronounced with both lips (while *f* is formed by pressing the lower lip against the upper teeth, in forming *f̣* both lips are pressed together) is used instead of *f*. Ex.: *f̣āŋ* to divide.

g always hard, as in garden, gold, never as in George. Ex.: *gɛ* him.

h occurs only in some exclamations; it is sounded a little stronger than the English *h* in he; e. g. *hẹh* exclamation of surprise (ẹ followed by a strong aspiration).

γ might be called a fricative *g*; it is in the same relation to *g*, as *v* is to b. It might be compared with the *Arabic* Ghain, but is much softer, and its place of articulation does *not lie so far back in the throat* as that of Ghain. Ex.: *γɛ* him, *γɛm* thigh. In forming *γ* the *back* part of the tongue has nearly the same position as in the pronunciation of *u*, but the lips are of course not rounded.

j is a palatal *d*; in phonetic writing *d'*; it is therefore not quite the same sound as the English *j* in just, jest. It is articulated a little *further back in the mouth*, and therefore sounds thinner. Ex.: *jāgɔ* chief. — *ch* and *j* have the same place of articulation; the middle of the tongue's back is pressed against the hind-part of the hard palatum.

k l m n are as in English. But *l*, when standing at the end of a word, is rolled, almost as the English pronounce the *ll* in well.

ń is a palatal *n*; it is pronounced like ñ in cañon, or like Italian and French gn in signore, seigneur. Its pronunciation is somewhat difficult, if it stands at the end of a word; here sometimes foreigners pronounce *ṅ* instead of *ń*. This can easily be avoided by adding the so-called 'helping vowel' to *ń*; instead of saying *lɛń* war, say *lɛńɛ*. Compare also such French words as Compiègne, Champagne, where also *ń* ends a word. Ex.: *ńa* child.

ṭ is an interdental *t*, pronounced by putting the tongue between the teeth, as in *ḍ*. Ex.: *yaṭ ṭwi* this tree.

ŋ is a velar *n*; it is pronounced like ng in singer, or like n in Con-go. Its pronunciation is only difficult at the beginning of a word. Divide: si-nger, and pronounce "nger" only; this ng is exactly the sound of *ŋ*. Ex.: *f̣āŋ* to divide, *ŋāḍ* to cut.

p as in English.

r is formed with the tongue's end. It is not rolled (trilled), but pronounced vary slightly, so that often between two vowels, *r* and *d* are hardly distinguishable.

ch is formed farther back in the mouth than the English *ch*. *It is nearly the same sound as the German ch in "ich, dich"*; in phonetic writing *ç*. When *ch*, *sh* and *j* stand before the vowels *e ẹ o ọ u*, they are accompanied by a hissing sound, so that they tend somewhat more to the English *ch*, *sh* and *j*, but they are never identical with them.

s̱ is an interdental *s*, it is pronounced as the sharp th in thing.

t as in English.

ṯ is the interdental *t*; it is formed just in the same way as *s̱*, only the tongue is pressed more tightly between the teeth, and thus a *t* is produced.

ẕ is an interdental *z*, like th in those.

System of the Consonants.

	Mutae		Fricatives		Liquids	Nasals	Semi-vowels
	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced			
Velars	*k*	*g*	—	*γ*	—	*ṅ*	—
Palatals	*ch*	*j*	*sh*	—	—	*ñ*	*y*
Alveolars	*t*	*d*	—	—	*r l*	*n*	—
Interdentals	*ṯ*	*ḏ*	*s̱*	*ẕ*	—	*ṉ*	—
Labials	*p*	*b*	*f, f*	—	—	*m*	*w*

Remarks.

1. The consonants *m*, *n*, *l* and *r* may form a syllable, thus having the quality and function of a vowel; in these cases they are designated thus: *m̥, n̥, r̥, l̥*; they may then also have their own tones.
2. The consonants *g*, *k* may have a twofold pronunciation. When standing before a velar vowel they are articulated farther back in the mouth than before a palatal vowel; the *g* in *go* and *k* in *ka* lie farther back than the *g* in *gin*, and *k* in *kiwo*; but this difference in pronunciation is not marked by different signs.
3. Double consonants are rare, but are sometimes pronounced, for instance the *l* in *Chọlọ* "Shilluk" is frequently pronounced distinctly long: *Chọllọ*; I also heard *pyọng dwo* to weed grass, besides *pyọng*; *kọt ó [illegible]* it is raining.

CHANGE OF SOUNDS.

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The change of sounds takes a large and important part in the *grammar* of the Shilluk language.

In order to show the changes which certain sounds have undergone, it is in some cases necessary to take the neighbouring related languages into consideration; they in many instances help to clear up transformations of sounds and to demonstrate older forms of sounds which from the Shilluk alone cannot be seen.

Change of Vowels.

Quantity.

Long and short vowels are in Shil. not always so strictly distinguished as is done in other Sudan languages. There is, in certain cases, some liberty in using a long or a short vowel; but in other cases again the lengthening or shortening of a vowel means different grammatical functions. The most important of the changes will be given here.

Frequently a vowel is long when standing in an open syllable, that is, a syllable ending in a vowel, but it becomes short, when standing in a closed syllable (a syllable ending in a consonant) *of the same word:* yān I, but yă I; yīn you, but yĭ you; *ɲal* boy, *ɲāla* my boy; *jal* man, *jāla* man; *fō* net, *fōŋ* net.

The demonstrative a (see 138) causes the preceding vowel to become long. The reason for this may be that a was originally an independent word (*ya*), with a vowel of its own, the quantity of this vowel being added to the vowel preceding a: *dano* man, *dāna* this man.

A vowel may be lengthened at will, in order to intensify the meaning of a word, e. g.: *á liŋ* he was silent; *á līŋ* he was silent for a long time, he remained in a deep, musing silence; *á tēk* he is strong, *á tēēk* he is (something) in a high degree; *á tēēk yi rāc*, or: *á tēēk yi rāc* he is very, very strong in badness, he surpasses everything in badness, is exceedingly bad. Chiefly some adjectives may lengthen their vowel exceedingly, so that instead of one line above the vowel, two or three ought properly to be written: *tēk* strong *tēēk* very strong, *rāc* bad, *rāāc* or *rāāāc*, very bad; often when such an adjective is said twice (see 151), the second time the vowel is lengthened: *tēk tēēk*, *rāc rāāc*.

Interjections also may have short, long or very long vowel according to the degree of excitement which is to be expressed.

In fluent speech frequently a vowel is shortened, which is pronounced long, if the word is spoken alone.

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In the vocative case the (last) vowel becomes long: *dáñò* man, *dáñō* o man! (see also 129).

Regular changes of vowel-quantity take place in forming singular and plural of nouns, and in forming the tenses of the verb. Of these only a few examples are given here, for more see 123, 156 ss.

Singular short vowel	Plural long vowel
àdjà-àdjǟ egret;	*òrjǫ̂-òrjǟ* antelope.
Singular long vowel	**Plural short vowel**
àbǭgǫ-àbǫ̈k albino;	*pàl-pàlì* sword.

In Verbs:

yā gǫ̈jǫ I am beating *yà gǫ̈ch* I was beaten *yā nāgǫ* I kill
yà nǭlǫ dhǫ̈n I killed a man.

Frequently a change of quantity coincides with a change of quality; see below.

Quality.

Here again the changes in the formation of singular and plural and in the tenses and modes of the verb are of prominent importance; a few examples will suffice here; for more see 124.

It is particularly to be observed in the following examples that, as mentioned above, frequently change of quality and of quantity coincide, and that in some cases a change of tone is added to those two. No doubt these changes have influenced each other, one causing, or cooperating in causing, the other.

A most prominent change is that of a long or short *a* or *ä*, and in some cases *ä* being reduced to *ǫ*:

a) > *ǫ*: *ogāk-ogǟkì* crow *ógwāl-ógwǟlì* frog *ógwāk-ógwǟkì* crane
dhāk-dhǟkì a fish.

ä) > *ǫ*: *òlām-òlǟmì* sycamore *fāl-fǟlì* spoon *kwārǫ-kwǟrì* pole.

a) > *ǫ*: *wąt* king (older form), *rįt* (properly *rǫt*)[1] king (present form); *wąt* is still used in a composition: *wąt kǫlǫ* king of the people, and when possessive pronouns are added: *rǫ̈dǫ* my king.
wąlǫ and *wǫlǫ* to arrive; *wąt* heads, *wǫtǫ ǹu* heads of lions; *dąk* third, *adǫk* three. Here always *ą* represents the older, *ǫ* the younger form.

ä) > *ǫ*: *bāgǫ* to boil	past *bǫ̈k*	*fǟdǫ* to be tired	past *fǫ̈t*		
fǟng to hide	past *fǫ̈ŋ*	*kǟdǫ* to bring	past *kǫ̈l*		
kāgǫ to ache	past *kǫ̈k*	*kǟdǫ* to twist	past *kǫ̈l*		
nāgǫ to kill	past *nǫ̈k*	*kǟlǫ* to take	n. *kǫ̈pǫ*		
pǟǹǫ to fill	and *pǫ̈kǫ* to fill	*kǟdǫ* to bring	and *kǫ̈lǫ* to bring		
fǟdǫ to be tired	and *fǫ̈dǫ* to be tired				
kǟdǫ to twist	and *kǫ̈dǫ* to twist.				

---

[1] In some words my materials give *į*, where *ǫ* was to be expected; this is doubtless misheard. For "king" *rįt* being introduced already, I keep this orthography instead of writing *rǫt*, which would be more correct.

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a [illegible]) ə: [illegible] a mat [illegible] a pot [illegible] a fish
[illegible] a bird [illegible] hawk.

In all these cases except a few, the vowel ə has high or high-low tone. Even in the verbs with double forms, e. g. [illegible] and [illegible] to be tired, the second form originates from a form with high tone, see 188. It is therefore hardly to be doubted that *the high tone is the cause of the vowel being reduced to ə.*

e > ɛ > ə. The singular of the noun, and the present tense of the verb end in ɛ, which was no doubt originally e. This ɛ is very often pronounced ə. The reason for this is that the emphasis (stress-tone) always lies on the stem-syllable, consequently the pronunciation of ɛ (e) is neglected and is reduced to ə.

In the first instances it is the high tone, in the last the absence of a stress, which causes the reduction of a full vowel to ə.

A short, pure o, when lengthened, often becomes ɔ; there is a general tendency in the language to pronounce a long o as ɔ, so that it is sometimes difficult to decide, whether one ought to write ō or ɔ; often there are no doubt individual differences.

[illegible] guinea-fowl [illegible] fence [illegible] pot
[illegible] to mix past [illegible] [illegible] to inherit past [illegible].
But mark the opposite: [illegible] to touch past [illegible] [illegible] to guard past [illegible].

Long or short o or ɔ > short ɔ. Here the coincidence of change of quantity with change of quality is the rule: *a long ō or ɔ becomes a short ɔ.* The shortening of the vowel is probably the prius; its consequence was o and ɔ becoming ɔ.

[illegible] and [illegible] which	[illegible] and [illegible] child
[illegible] and [illegible] because	[illegible] and [illegible] to rule
[illegible] and [illegible] to go	[illegible] and [illegible] to steal
[illegible] and [illegible] poor, worthless	[illegible] to err, past [illegible]
[illegible] to match, past [illegible]	[illegible] aunt
[illegible] tree	[illegible] and [illegible] (from [illegible]) to be
[illegible] and [illegible] to dream	[illegible] and [illegible] to open
[illegible] and [illegible] to fill	[illegible] and [illegible] mud.

But mark: [illegible] bad [illegible] to become bad; [illegible] hat; [illegible] boat.

In the double forms of verbs the form with ō is the primitive, from which that with ɔ is derived; see 188.

o and ō change in: [illegible] and [illegible] to know.
e and ɛ change in: [illegible] mongoose [illegible] red ant [illegible] a mat.
i and e change in: [illegible] to exchange past [illegible]
[illegible] to come stealthily past [illegible].
vice versa: [illegible] scorpion, [illegible] a well.

193 *i* and *ę* change in: *riŋ* to run; past *a ręŋ*.

194 *ę* and *ę*, *o* change in: *pęrę* and *pirę* to tattoo, *ręŋę* and *riŋę* to meet
bilęlę-bilǫlǫ hedgehog *otęgę-otęgęj* bow *kęrę-kǫrǫ* axe.
vice versa: *kwǫy* to pull out, past *kęję*, *fuǫy* | to pull
ŋǫdę to cut, past *ŋęję* *fuǫo* | out
lęgę to turn past *lęgi*; *rum-rom* time.
o and *ę* change in: *ǫkǫlǫ-okęlęj* a knife *ǫkǫr-okęr* vulture
kǫr-kęr bell; and: *tǫrk-tonk* gun; this last example suggests that *o* was changed into *ę* by an inserted *a*.
o and *u* change in: *kǫdę* to fasten n. *kǫdę*; *chudę* and *chǫdę* to avenge, *kuno* and *kǫdę* to blow up.

26. 193 194 197 The vowels *ę* and *ǫ* can in many cases be shown to be not primitive.

ę < *a*.

lęk tooth	Any. *lak*		*węlę* to travel	Ba. *wale*	
kęnę gourd	Ju. *kano*		*kęch* bitter, sharp	Nu. *kapol* sharp	
ŋęrę small	Any. *ŋaro*				
nęnę to sleep	Nu. *nalo*		*nęno* to see	Nu. *nalo*	
kęno bread	Ju. *kapo*	Nr. *kapa*, Bo. *kak*	*dęjęŋ* much	Nr. *duom*	
kęjęl horse	Ju. *akaja*	Ga. *kaka*;	(*chwe* fat	Nr. *chuon*)	
ańwęn four	Nr. *ńuin*		*ęgęt* metal	Ju. *pato*.	

In these words the form with *a* is doubtless the older one; in Shi. *a* has, from reasons not known, changed into *ę* (or *e*).

ę < *ia*.

pęk to be heavy	Any. *pyek*	
tęk to be hard	Di. *tyek* (*tyęk?*)	Bo. *tiyo*
pęjęg, *pyęjęg* to ask	Ba. *pijo*	
ręmę blood, Ba. *rima*,	Bo. *trama*,	Nr. *ryęm*.

These words have originally the vowels *ia*, of which *i* probably is the oldest; see Bo. *tiyo* and Ba. *pijo*, *rima*, here the second vowel, *a*, is not yet added. When *a* was suffixed, the first vowel, *i*, became unsyllabic, that is, it turned into *y*; this form is preserved in *pyek*; *a* was then assimilated to *i* (*y*) and thus turned into *ę*: *tyęk*, *pyęjęg*, *ryęm*; finally in Shi. the *y* was absorbed wholly by *ę*, and *ę* remained; but, as the examples show, in many words both forms, *ę* and *yę*, are still existing.

ǫ < *wa* or *ua*.

w or *u* preceding an *a* has often assimilated the *a*, so it became *ǫ*; in certain cases the *u* or *w* has then been wholly absorbed by *ǫ*, so that *ua*, *wa* > *wǫ* > *ǫ*.

Compare the following examples:

wa and *wǫ* we; *wa* is the primitive, *wǫ* the influenced form; likewise: *gwǫlęg* and *gwęję* to scratch, *ţwoļ* to cut, *ţǫļ* to butcher, *ţęţę* to cut. 193 *

gį	to die	Ba. *tuan*		*ojiąą*	to dive	Di. *ruot*	
gwęję	to cry	Ga. *gwok*		*lwąką*	to wash	Nr. *luk*	Ba. *lokojo*
ţęų	afternoon	Ga. *ahwar*		*orįą*	thirst	Ga. *oruwur*	Ju. *ryau*
abwęk	maize	Any. *abuok*		*nwąją*	to bear, beget	Ga. *nwolo*	
kwęy	cotton	Ga. *waro*					
pięų	to beat	Any. *goni*	Ba. *gbo*	*aŋę*	what	Nr. *ŋu*,	Di. *ŋa*
chwęų	man	Ga. *chwo*	Nr. *chwo*	*yę*	road *yo tεk* narrow road		
chwęję	to call	Nr. *chol*		*ogwęų*	fox	Nr. *gwok*	

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In these words *ę* is evidently an original *a*; in Shi. the *a* has in all cases been assimilated by the preceding *i* or *u*, while in other languages the primitive *a* is preserved. In Shi. *ţwoļ* "to cut", the vowel, *a*, is not yet added; in *ţǫļ* "to butcher", the suffixed *a* has dropped the *u*; here is no assimilation, but simply the elision of *u*; whereas in *ţęţę* both vowels are contracted to one; an analogous case is *aŋę* what; the primitive vowel is *u*: Nr. *ŋu* what; later an *a* was added; before this *a* the primitive vowel *u* dropped in Di.: *ŋa* what; in Shi. both vowels were first assimilated and then contracted: *aŋę* (the beginning *a* does not belong to the stem, see 124) what. Note also *yę* road, but *yo tεk* narrow road, and *yo Fabgo* the way to F., from original *yo*; this older form is preserved in connections of the word with a determinative; later an *a* was added, which united with *o* to *ę*.

Compare also the following words:

omęrę	roan antelope	Ju. *omar*
yǫmę	wind	Ga. *yamo*
ogęt	blossom	Di. *pat*.

These either have the same origin as the examples given above, the *u*, *i* having been dropped in both respective languagre, or the original vowel is simply *a*, which, for reasons unknown, has become *ę* in Shi.

It is of course probable that, in analogy with the development shown above, many, if not all, words with *wę*, *yę*, and perhaps also those with *ǫ*, *ę* had the original vowel *a*, or *ua*, *ia*, though this *a* may no more be visible now in any of the related languages.

Some of these words show that the first of the two vowels *(ia, ua)* was *i*, *u*, and that the *a* was added later; compare *ţwoļ*, *ţǫļ*, *ţęţę*; and *atwoļ* goose, Di. *twol (twol?)*, Nr. *twor*; *ţwoļ* and *atwoļ* are the oldest forms; then *a* was suffixed, see above; in Nr. *twor*, *ua* became *uo* > *wo*, whereas in Shi. *atwoļ* was preserved, no second vowel being added here.

If *a* is a secondary vowel, it must of course have been added for a certain purpose, by adding it the meaning of the word must undergo a change; this is

* 193 the case in *dadg* to cut and *döly* to butcher. For more examples of the addition
194 of a second vowel see 70.

197 A good example for *w* being dropped altogether in Shi. is this: *ođy* to catch, Gu. *mako*, Ba. *mok*, Di. *mugd* < **muo* or **muo*.

A different evolution have

tugg male, Di. *atoo*; *cđjig* to heap up, assemble, Di. *ochot*. Here again the primitive vowel is *o*, as is evident from *ochot*; now an *a* — in Di. preserved as *o* — was *prefixed* to the stem, and in Shi. was received into the stem, so *ochot* > *chuyd*, *atoo* > *tugg*. See also the formation of the passive 173 ss.

So we have two forms of adding a second vowel to the stem:

a) consonant + vowel + vowel: *t* + *u* + *o* > *tuo*, *tug*, *ty*;

b) vowel + consonant + vowel: *a* + *t* + *o* > *ato*, *tuo*, *tug*, *ty*.

Assimilation of Vowels.

* 143 Some assimilations are treated above: *ia* > *iq*, *yq*; *wo* > *wq*, *wy*. Others are:
194 *wich* head and *wuch*; *wijg* to arrive, and *wugg*: *i* has been assimilated by the preceding *w* and thus become *u*;

ya á "I shall" is often pronounced *yo a*, *ya a*;

bygie "there is not", and *bigye*;

by "not to be", and *bygye* "there is not" < *by* + *gye*;

yigy to become, and *yygy*;

tyal foot, *tyblo* my foot;

bingo it is, and *bynyo*;

bį oį "with its body" becomes *bq oq*;

yí *wò* why you, but *ę* *wį*, why he;

bį "and", but: *wü bü bįdy* you and the smith: *į* is assimilated to the preceding *u*. *ėn* this, *ġni* that; an *i* has been affixed to *an*, and has turned the *a* to *ę*. (Note the change of tone in this last example: the low tone designates the nearer, the high tone the farther distance).

Contraction and Elision of Vowels.

Some have been shown above: *ia* > *ya*, *yę* > *ę*; *wo* > *wo*, *wę* > *ę*. Others are:

yi ą "you will" > *yą*. *wi ga* his mother > *mga*. *wi ga* his father > *wga*.

Where two vowels *of different words* meet together, generally one is dropped:

kwärą a my grandfather > *kwära*.

kwärą i thy grandfather > *kwäri*, and likewise all these connections.

afwachį ak these rabbits > *afwach ak*.

yi gwöįk ikįg what are you doing > *yi gwöį ig?*

yi kįky adi what do you say > *yi kįk adi*, or: *yi kü di?*

In the nasalisation of final consonants a final vowel is dropped: *jägą* chief > *jäń*; see 127.

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Change of Semivowels.

In forming the singular and plural of nouns and the tenses of verbs, frequent changes of semivowels are to be observed. As is said above, the semivowels within a word are probably original vowels, *w* < *u*, *y* < *i*. In many of those cases where the *u* or *i* had a *high tone*, it has not become a semivowel, but has retained its original form. If the *u*, *i* with a high tone did become a semivowel, its tone was transferred to the following vowel; it is sometimes difficult to decide whether one ought to write [illegible] or [illegible]. 193* 194 197

A few examples of the changes may be given here; for more see 124 [illegible].

ę and *wę*: [illegible] to work passive [illegible] [illegible] to speak passive [illegible]
[illegible] jackal [illegible] cock
[illegible] and [illegible] to drive [illegible] serval.
vice versa: [illegible] dog-head fish.
o and *wo*: [illegible] and [illegible] to help [illegible] and [illegible] to spit.
vice versa: [illegible] shield.
[illegible] and [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] to show.

The vowel *u* has been preserved in:
[illegible] to taste, past a [illegible]; [illegible] to sew, n. [illegible].
[illegible] to knead, n. [illegible];
[illegible] dog; [illegible] chair; [illegible] and [illegible] to tie.

Changes between *ę* and *yę*:
[illegible] and [illegible] to build; [illegible] and [illegible] to dig
[illegible] back-bone; [illegible] to let the milk down, [illegible] to milk.

The vowel *i* has been preserved in:
[illegible] to sacrifice, and [illegible]; [illegible] reed
[illegible] elephant; [illegible] to refuse, n. [illegible].

y < *w*:	[illegible] seed	Di. [illegible]	[illegible] and [illegible] ring	
	[illegible] fowl	Any. [illegible]	[illegible] to refuse	Ga. [illegible]
	[illegible] to save	Nr. [illegible]	*fyou* heart	Di. [illegible]
	[illegible] horse	Any. [illegible]		

In most of these words the cause of *w* being transformed into *y* may be the following vowel *ę*, *e*, which, being palatal, assimilated *w* into the palatal *y*.

Elision of an original *w*:
[illegible] and [illegible] to send, [illegible] relative by marriage Ga. *wor*.

[illegible] war	Ga. [illegible] Ju. [illegible]	*jī* people	Ba. [illegible]
[illegible] skin	Ga. [illegible]	[illegible] egg.	Nr. [illegible]
[illegible] much	Nr. [illegible]	[illegible] to catch	Di. [illegible]

[illegible] is probably < *[illegible] < *[illegible] < *[illegible].

* 193 In many of these examples it is to be noted that often a vowel preceded
194 by a semivowel is short, but when the same word appears without a semivowel,
the vowel is long: the quantity of the semivowel is added to that of the vowel.
197 Elision of *ɣ: ɣḙn* and *ḙn* he.

Change between *w*, *ɣ* and *r*. — Though *r* is not a semivowel, it is to be treated here.

In a considerable number of words these three sounds may be interchanged at will. Compare what is said of the nature of *ɣ* in 9. *ɣ* and *w* are closely related (they are interchanged in just the same way in Ewe); now the friction which is produced in forming *ɣ* is, by some individuals, transferred from the back-mouth to the point of the tongue, the velar friction becoming a lingual one, that is, instead of *ɣ* an *r* is pronounced.

wọt, ɣọt, rọt house	*wāŋ, ɣāŋ* and *rāŋ* to finish
wāŋ, ɣāŋ and *rāŋ* to carry	*wāŋ, ɣāŋ* and *rāŋ* to carry water
ɣẹc and *rẹc* fish	*wör* and *rör* kings
wa, ɣa, wa, Di. *ɣɔk*	*ɣäŋ* and *räŋ* to elect.

ɣ does not stand before *i, o,* and seldom before *u;* here *w* takes its place: *aɣọlọ-awọl* axe; *ɣěr* and *wŏr* a season, *ɣälą* and *wälą* to pound.

In *ɣěr-wŏr* the change from *ɣ* to *w* has caused a change from *e* to *o*.

Change between *y* and *ɣ:*

ɣē and *ɣḙn* he; *yā* I Di. *ya*.

y sometimes corresponds to *j* in Nr. and Any.:

yan I	Nr. *jqa*	*yei* tree	Nr. *jei*
yin you	Nr. *jin*	*yiep* tail	Nr. *jip*
yọ road	Any. *jọ*	*yāmọ* wind	Any. *jamq*
ywọ̈ḷo to cry	Any. *jwọ̈ḷ* and *jwọ̈k*.		

Here probably *j* is the older sound; compare the analogous case, where in Shi. a *j* turns into *y*: 46.

When a noun ending in *u* receives a vowel-suffix, a *w* is inserted between both; *ṅu* lion *ṅuwi* lions; or, if *u* is part of a diphthong, it becomes *w*: *fyọu* heart, *fyọwa* my heart; see 135.

Change of Consonants.

Interchange.

Some consonants may be interchanged at will, one individual preferring the one, another the other consonant; often the same individual in the same words now uses the one, a little while later the other consonant. The younger generation of the people, and chiefly all strangers speaking the language, prefer the fricative sounds.

These consonants are: 183*

ch and *sh*   *đ* and *z*   *ţ* and *s*   *p* and *f* or *f*. 186

According to the general laws of evolution in African languages, *ch ţ đ p* are to be regarded as the older, *sh z s* and *f f* as the younger sounds. — *t* never changes with its corresponding sound, which would be *s*; the natives are not able, unless expressly taught, to pronounce an *s*. 187

Assimilation.

The consonants *k ch t ţ p*, *when standing at the end of a word*, can be pronounced in two ways. They are voiceless, that is a real *k ch t ţ p* is to be pronounced, if 1. the word stands alone or at the end of a sentence; 2. if it is followed by a voiceless consonant. They are voiced, that is, they are to be pronounced *g j d đ b* 1. if they are followed by a voiced consonant, 2. if they are followed by a vowel (an exception to this rule see 139 and 143). *But these consonants are always written voiceless.* This rule is suggested merely by practical regards: it would, for instance in school-practice, be troublesome, to write the same word with different sounds. 184

Real pronunciation	Usual writing	
đog jal	*đok jal*	the cattle of the man
đok ţįŋ	*đok ţįŋ*	the cattle of the people
rįţ ţįŋ	*rįţ ţįŋ*	the king of the people
rįţ ţö	*rįţ ţö*	the king died
kwob obwoń	*kwop obwoń*	the talk of the stranger
kwop ţįŋ	*kwop ţįŋ*	the talk of the people.

If one consonant of a word is interdental, the rest of the consonants in the same word, if *t, d* or *n*, become in most cases likewise interdental:

đęŋ man, *ţiđę* to make straight, *ţiđin* hot season, *ţiđę* to suck, *ţoŋę* to rise, *ţaŋaţ* a pole for pulling boats; in some connections even the consonant of another word may become interdental: *yaţ* tree, *dągǫ* large, *yaṉ đągǫ* a large tree; between *ṉ* and *đ* the tongue does not change its position. But observe: *ţa tyêlę* heel, literally "base of the foot", here each of the two words is still felt as independent, therefore no assimilation takes place.

Assimilation is also to be observed in the *law of nasalization:*

k + *n* > *ń*   *ch* + *n* > *ń*
t + *n* > *n*   *ţ* + *n* > *ṉ*
p + *n* > *m*   *gą* + *n* > *ń*
ją + *n* > *ń*   *dą* + *n* > *n*
đą + *n* > *ṉ*   *bą* + *n* > *m*

Examples see 140.

Consonants influenced by vowels.

[41] a) A mute voiceless consonant standing between vowels generally shows a tendency of becoming voiced. Thus nearly in all verbs in the present tense the second consonant is voiced: *kędo, pįdo, yįgo, kįdo* etc.; and in those which have preserved a voiceless consonant, often, when the word is spoken rapidly, the consonant is pronounced almost voiced, or at least not as *p t* etc., but as a somewhat hard *p, d,* etc. (what in German phonology is called "voiceless lenis").

b) See 38.

Change between voiced and voiceless consonants.

1. See 26, Assimilation.
2. See 41, Consonants influenced by vowels.
3. Sometimes the consonant beginning a word shows a change between voicedness and voicelessness:

Buchbilg and *Puchbilg*, Vash. cla	*dębdęi* and *tębdęi* dura-stick
bě and *pě*, or *fě* not	*gųk* mouth *Any.* *tok*; *dūk* pot Nr. *gųk*

gį they, probably reduced from *kuų*; see 131.

4. In the formation of plural a voiced consonant often turns voiceless: *afodo* pl. *afoti*; see 107.

Combination of Consonants.

The *Shi.* does not combine two or more consonants in a word without an intervening vowel. A consonant may be combined only with one or more vowels or with a semivowel, never with a second consonant.

If in the connection of noun and possessive pronoun or in the formation of plural two consonants meet together, one is always dropped:

dal boy *dal ra* my boy > *dāra*	*jįng* fisherman plural *yįį* < **yįnį*
dal ri thy boy > *dāri*	*jach* belly plural *yąį* < **yachį*
pach village *pach ęŋ* his village > *pāęŋ*	*dyęl* goat plural *dyęk* < **dyęlk*
wich head plural *wąį* < **wachį*	*kęl* gourd plural *kįt* < **kęlt*

An *n* has been dropped in certain cases of genetive-formation, *dęk n Ogę* becoming *dęk Ogę*; see 127.

If two consonants of two *different* words meet together,

a) both consonants may be preserved; this is generally the case, when the first of the two consonants is a liquid or a nasal one; *jal mįįt* some man; *Gol boŋ* a proper-name, *Ayun jugh* a proper-name; but *kęjn gęn* "where are they" becomes *kęj gęn*; and *kal wun* your fence > *kal ūn*.

b) the 'helping vowel' is inserted: *lęch* tooth, *lęke lyech* the tooth of the elephant; see 127.

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c) a mute consonant is sometimes dropped:
[illegible] cattle, [illegible] cattle of the king
pach village pa [illegible] village of the king
bat arm ba *jal* arm of the man.

d) *ch* turns into *y*, that is, an unsyllabic *i*:
wich head wiy [illegible] head of the table
[illegible] middle [illegible] middle of the river.

Changes of single consonants.

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k. An original *k* is dropped in:
[illegible] we Di. [illegible] (*[illegible]   [illegible] shoe Nu. [illegible]
[illegible] bird Ba. [illegible]   [illegible] spider Nu. [illegible]
[illegible] Ju. [illegible]   [illegible] to cover and [illegible] (*[illegible]

The opposite state is in:
[illegible] cotton Ga. [illegible]   [illegible] to pour out Ga. [illegible] (*[illegible]

Perhaps the primitive state in all these words is a beginning *kw*.

An original *k* has turned into *ch* in
[illegible] to walk Di. [illegible], [illegible]   [illegible] bitter Nu. [illegible], stem *[illegible]
[illegible] leopard Bo. [illegible], Ba. [illegible].

An original *k* has turned into *t* in [illegible] bat, Di. [illegible], Ga. [illegible]; here *k* > *ch* > *t*, *k* being the oldest, *t* the youngest form.

g. A primitive *g* has turned into *j*:
jî people, Ba. [illegible] tribe.

ch. *ch* has become *y* in connections described in 127.

j. *j* has become *y* in [illegible] nest, and [illegible] ([illegible]).

t d, and *ţ ḓ*.

1. At the beginning of a word; *t* > *r*.
[illegible] blood Bo. [illegible]   [illegible] and [illegible] to fetch water, Ga. [illegible].
ţ > *r*: [illegible] and [illegible] to finish.

2. Within or at the end of a word.

t > *r*: [illegible] and [illegible] to wish, [illegible] and [illegible] to carry; [illegible] and [illegible] corner.

t, *d* > *l*: [illegible] and [illegible] to throw   [illegible] and [illegible] to steal
[illegible] to drive past [illegible]   [illegible] to shave and [illegible]
[illegible] to spit past [illegible]   [illegible] to curse and [illegible]
[illegible] to scratch past [illegible]   [illegible] to wink with the lips, [illegible] to wink.

ḓ > *r*: [illegible] to laugh, n. [illegible]   [illegible] to cut, past a [illegible]
[illegible] king pl. [illegible],   [illegible] and [illegible] womb
[illegible] thirst Ga. [illegible]
[illegible] steer, but [illegible], and [illegible] a certain kind of steer.

194 197 Concerning t > r (and ţ > r?) it may be remarked that in Nr. a final t is followed by a strong hissing sound, which sometimes turns into a rolled r, and thus makes the t disappear altogether. In the same way t may have become r in Shi., the tr in Nr. meaning an intermediate stage between t and r.
t đ > l: ţiđo to cook, past ţél wiđo to change, past wéla.

More examples for these changes are to be seen in 181; there also the functions of some of the changes are described. The changes of consonants into the corresponding nasal sounds are treated in 140.

The changes of t d, ţ đ to r, r, l, l, and y, n are doubtless to be traced back to different causes. — Observe also that t ţ at the beginning of a word change into r only, in the middle or end of a word they may change to r or to l.

INTONATION.

194 As in other Sudan languages, the intonation is an important and essential part in Shilluk grammar. Without paying close attention to it, it is not possible to master the language. Intonation is not to be confounded with accentuation, which means the stress laid on a particular syllable or word. Intonation means exclusively the highness or lowness of a syllable compared with other syllables. Each syllable has its own tone, which cannot, as is the case in European languages, be changed at will, but is altered only under certain conditions.

The tone can lie on vowels, and on consonants which have the function of vowels: ŋ m l r. If in diphthongs only the first vowel has a tone-mark, it is understood that the second vowel has the same tone.

The Shi. has three original tones: a high tone, marked thus: á, a low tone: à, and a middle tone: ā. Two tones, and in some cases even three, may combine on one syllable. Generally it is the high and the low tone, which unite on one syllable; so we have the combinations low-high ǎ (rising tone) and high-low â (falling tone). In the first case the vowel begins with a low tone and then rises; in â it is the reverse: at first a high tone, which is lowered at the close of the sound. According to my observation in both cases the high tone is of longer duration than the low, and it seems to me that a particular stress lies on it (see below).

There are also combinations of the high and middle tone a᷇, these are fairly frequent, while I have not met with a middle and high tone. One example of three tones on one syllable is given below.

The rising and the falling tone generally occur on syllables with a long vowel, but they are also met with on short vowels, just the falling tone often does so.

In this case the high tone is clearly prevalent, only just before the sound is stopped, the tone is lowered.

It is difficult to describe the tones or to give analogies for their pronunciation from European languages. In this particular case it is still less advisable, as the author of this book does not write in his own language, and does not feel sufficiently acquainted with English to give examples from it for illustrating the pronunciation of the tones.

> [The English as well as other European languages does have different tones, one syllable or word being pronounced higher than others. The difference between European and Sudan languages is, that in the first the observation of the tone is not indispensable in speaking, the meaning of a word is not altered, whether it be pronounced with a high or a low tone; but in Sudan languages the tone is just as essential and integral as are vowels and consonants. Two words with the same sounds, but different tones, are quite different words, which in their etymology and meaning have nothing to do with each other, the conformity in the sounds is in this case to be considered as mere accidental. — On the other hand in European languages the *stress* or *strength* laid on a word is essential, it distinguishes the syllable or word which conveys the chief thought from those which are less important.]

Only some examples of each tone and combination of tones are given here; their pronunciation must be acquired by hearing them from the natives. The student should let a native pronounce these and other examples repeatedly, so long till he is not only able to hear the differences, but to imitate them to the satisfaction of the native. (To do that, one must really try to wholly quit the European mode of pronouncing a word; to give one example: When we pronounce a single word, or, the last word of a sentence, we generally lower the tone of the sound; the Shi. cannot do so, unless the word has a low tone; if it has a high tone, he will pronounce it high, whether it stands at the end of a sentence or not; just mark the first examples which follow here.)

Examples.

High tone: lén war, *fén* ground, *yán* I, *gén* they, *dyę́l* goat, *óbǫ́i* foam.

Low tone: ụ̀rì people, *ànìn* now; *dyàŋ* cattle, *pì* water. The high and low tone are easily distinguished, when both meet together: *ákyę̀l* one, *ádę̀k* three, *tyę̀lò* foot, pl. *tyę́l; kà à kò* and he said; *jàk àk* these chiefs.

Middle tone: is not so easily distinguished, and may be confounded with the high tone. Examples: *ǫ́twǭŋ* cock; the second tone is a little lower than the first, yet it is distinctly not low; *gàt* pl. *gāt* riverbank; *kìfà* in order that.

Rising tone: gę́ bę̌n all of them, *ǫ́twǫ̌ŋ* hyena; (these examples are easy, be-

194 cases a high tone precedes the *rising* one, the tones are like this: ⌐; mark the difference between "cock" and "hyena"!); *fàà* a water-pot, *yó* road, *Dàà* a proper-name.

Falling tone: *ę dę̂k* he is absent, *dę̂* is hard. When a high tone is followed by a low tone in the following syllable, the high tone itself sometimes is lowered at its end, so that instead of **dàà*, sometimes **dâà* is heard.

High and middle tone: *dwǫ̀n* when? *wú kí ngǫ́* you and who? *į* you.

High-low-high tone: *dǘt* dowry.

In the texts and dictionary the high-middle tone is generally rendered by high-low tone.

194 Examples of words which have the same sounds but different tones:

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ǫ́gwę́p	cock	*ǫ̀gwę̀p*	hyena	*lę̂*	hot season	*lę̀*	a small lizard
lǫ̀ǫ́	nabbak-tree	*lǫ̀ǫ̀*	to spend the night	*mà*	which	*mǎ*	aunt
				màr	green	*mâr*	because
lâ	skin	*lǎ*	spittle	*ǫ̀bų̂k*	a fish	*bǫ̀ŋǫ̀k*	egret
kǫ̀ǫ̀	flint-stone	*kǫ̂ǫ̂*	to be smooth	*wàà*	year	*wâŋ*	eye.

But such words are not nearly so frequent here as they are in western Sudan languages; this is so chiefly from three causes:

1. the words consisting of only one consonant and one vowel, which prevail in the western Sudan, are not numerous in the eastern languages, these last having augmented the primitive stem by prefixes and chiefly by suffixes; see 63. These additions were in most cases a sufficient means for distinguishing the stems from each other, thus the distinction by tone became in many words superfluous, and consequently disappeared, or was mechanized.
2. In the eastern languages, at least in some of them, the tone developed into quite a different function, which the western Sudan languages do not have. Here the tone is exclusively *etymological,* that is two or more words which have the same sounds but are of quite different etymology, are distinguished from each other by different tones. In the eastern languages this function is also preserved, but it is almost being suppressed by the *grammatical* function of the tone, that is, *grammatical categories are expressed by difference of tone.* Copious examples for this rule, which is a characteristic feature of the Shi., are given in 122 ss.

A few illustrations will suffice here:

a) singular and plural by different tones:

kyą̀à	pl.	*kyą́á*	horse	*dàk*	pl.	*dǫ̀k*	pot
byę̀lę̀	pl.	*byę́l*	dura	*jàch*	pl.	*jách*	shoulder
bwí	pl.	*bwì*	net	*ǫ̀tǫ́r*	pl.	*ǫ̀tǫ̀r*	ford
dǫ́k	pl.	*dǫ̀k*	mouth	*alŭń*	pl.	*alùń*	somersault.

b) the vocative always receives high tone on the last syllable: 194

bǫ̀dǫ̀ smith, but in addressing: *bǫ̀dǫ́!* o smith!
mâyǫ̀ mother, but in addressing: *mâyǫ́!* o mother! 197
ńàtè man, but in addressing: *ńàté!* o man!
Dâk a proper-name, but in addressing: *Dâgí!* o Dâk!

c) The personal pronouns have high tone; see 130. Note also the mechanised tone in the possessive pronouns and the numerals, 134, 152.

d) the tenses and modes of the verb are distinguished by tone:
to eat: present active *chàmǫ̀*, passive *chám*, verbal noun: *châm*
to work: present active *gǫ̀gò*, passive *gwǫ́k*, verbal noun: *gwǫ̂k*.

3. Into the Shi. the accentuation or stress (the dynamic tone) has, probably by hamitic influence, been introduced, and it is often difficult to distinguish intonation from accentuation. This is not so much the case in single words, but in groups of words, in which stress is laid on a particular word; generally this is a word with high tone, so that high tone and stress unite on the same word or syllable; and on the other hand, a stress falling on a low tone, raises the tone of the syllable.

Change of Tones.

The intonation is in Shi. not of that regularity which is found in the western Sudan languages. Though most changes obey fixed laws, yet many seem rather arbitrary, and I have sometimes met with the baffling fact that a word or a connection of words were, at different times, pronounced with different tones. Generally a word, when pronounced single, has its fixed tone, but in connection with other words the intonation changes very strongly, adapting itself to or contrasting with, its neighborhood (*rhythmical* tone). 194

Most of the changes may be classified under two headings, viz. assimilations and dissimilations.

Assimilation of Tones.

yít pl. *yi̧t* ear; but *yi̧té kyęń* ears of the horse
òkǫ̀k pl. *òkǫ̂k* flower, but *òkǫ́kí yąt* blossoms of the tree
àtǫ́p pl. *àtǫ̂p* bag; but *àtǫ́pé ńàtè* the bags of the man.

In all these words the plural has low tone; but in connecting the words with a genetive, a high-toned *é* is added; the high tone of this *e* causes the preceding syllable to become also high.

gúòk dogs *á* my, *gúóká* my dogs; this is analogous to the preceding examples.
kâ "and", *é* "he", *kò* "said" but connected: *kâ è kò*.
yâ I *gǫ̀gò* work, *yâ gǫ̀gò* I am working; the low tone of *gǫ̀gò* causes the *â* of

194 *yâ* to add a low tone to its high tone; this low tone on *â* is, however, pronounced but very faintly, sometimes only *á* is heard.

Dissimilation of Tones.

gin thing *àn* this, but *gín àn* this thing, *gík àk* these things.
ńàṅ crocodile *àn* this, but *ńáṅ àn* this crocodile.

Here the reason of the low-toned noun becoming high-toned is the stress which is laid on the noun.

Many references to intonation will be found in the following paragraphs, they are treated there together with the grammatical functions they exercise.

Accentuation.

In words with more than one syllable the accent (or stress) lies on the stem-syllable. When a syllable with low tone has the accent, this low tone frequently becomes high.

SECOND SECTION:

FORMATION OF WORDS.

The stems of the Shilluk-words are monosyllabic. A word may consist in

1. **a vowel.**
 á sign of the past, *â* it is, *â* which, *ụ́* forming the future; and the personal pronouns when suffixed: *a, i, ẹ;* but these last, being unseparably connected with another word, are not independent words; and the rest are likewise mere particles; no noun or verb in Shi. consists in a vowel only.

2. **a consonant and a vowel.**
 This is the oldest form of the word in the Sudan-languages (comp. Die Sudansprachen, page 14), but is not very frequent in Shi. now. Examples: *bā, fā* not, *bẹ* in order to, *bụ̀* to have not, *cha* time, *cha* to be going to, *chi* wife, *chẹ* to begin, *chū* bones, *dà* to have, *dè* sign of perfect, *dẹ̀* but, *ga* piece, copy, *gé* they, *gọ* him, *gū* a big fish, *jè* people, *kā* to go, *kā* place, *kí* with, *ko* to say, *kū* thief, *má* aunt, *ma* because, *mi* mother, *nà* as, *nè* as, *ní* to use, *ńa* child, *ńu* lion, *pi* water, *rè* why, *wá* we, *wú* you pl., *yā* I, *yí* you, *yọ̄* road.

 Not in all these words the primitive form, consonant + vowel, is original, some are apparently shortened from longer forms, but in others it is not clear, whether the short forms are mutilated from longer ones, or whether the words consisting in more than one consonant and one vowel have evolved from the corresponding primitive forms. Compare these examples:

 bā, fā not, *fāẹ* it is not
 bẹ in order to, probably from *bia* to come
 bi to come — *bia* to come
 bụ̀ to have not — *byṅọ* to have not
 cha time — from *chaṅ* "day, sun"
 cha to be going to — *chamọ* to be going to

 chi wife — *chyek* wife
 chẹ to begin — *chāgọ* to begin
 chū bones, sing. *chọ̄gọ*
 gi thing — *gin* thing
 kā place — *kāch* place
 kā to go — *kādọ* to go
 ko to say — *kọ̄bọ* to say
 ma because — *mar* because.

3. **a consonant and a diphthong.**
 bai buttermilk, *bọi* mosquito, *bọ́i* net, *lọi* game, *lāu* cloth, *lọu* far, *lau* spittle, *nau* thus, *ńau* cat, *yọi* boat, *yọi* hair.

4. **a consonant and two vowels.**
 bia to come, this is probably derived from *bi* to come.

5. **a consonant, vowel, and consonant.** This is by far the most fre-

*193 quent form; it may be called the characteristic form of the word in Shi., about 90 % of all *stems* of the language having this form.

bàt arm, *bȧk* fence, *bȧń* a cow, *bǡn* behind, *bǫr* long, *bę̄ch* bundle, *bǫt̠* spear, *bǫl* a mat, *gǫl* fence, *kal* fence, *kǫt̠* rain, etc.

*193 197 In my comparative study "Die Sudansprachen", I have shown the original word in Sudan to consist in one consonant and one vowel, all other elements in a word being later additions. As is seen under 2., this original form is not frequent in Shi., the standard form being here consonant + vowel + consonant. Accordingly these words ought to be demonstrated as having evolved from words with one consonant and one vowel only; the second consonant should be traced as a later element. That is, however, until now possible only in a small minority of cases. This may be explained from the fact that the eastern Sudan languages have, for a comparatively long time, had their own development, separate from that of the western languages, and under the influence of languages of different character.

I have found, however, a number of words which, being identical in their first consonant and vowel, and differing only in the second consonant, have the same or a similar meaning, which makes it probable that they are of one origin, and consisted originally in one consonant and one vowel, but differentiated their meaning by adding a second consonant. In some of the examples there is a semivowel between the first consonant and the vowel, which, according to 21, 22, has arisen from a vowel, so that here two vowels are to be supposed.

Examples.

bāgǫ	to make a fence	< **bā*
bājǫ	to tie together	
bāno, *bǫnǫ*	to make a mistake	< **bā*
bājǫ	to err	
chȫk	it is finished	< **chō*
chȫt̠i	it is finished	
chwǭbǫ	to pierce	< **chua*
chwayǫ	to pierce	
gǭdǫ	to scratch, dig	< **gua*
gǭnǫ, *gwanǫ*	to scratch	
gǭbǫ	to scratch	
fāyǫ	to be sharp	< **fā*
fālǫ	knife	
fę̄chǫ, *fyę̄chǫ*	to ask	< **fę*, **fia*, with the supposed meaning of "to say"
fę̄mǫ	to gainsay	
fę̄dǫ	to lie	
fǭgǫ	to be bruised	< **fo*, *fua*
fōjǫ	to rub, brush	
gǭdǫ	to loosen	< **gǭ*, *gua*
gǭnǫ	to loosen	
kāgǫ, *kūgǫ*	to ache, pain	< **kā*
kājǫ	to bite, ache, pain	
kę̄tǫ	to throw	< **kę̄*
kę̄t̠ǫ	to dash, shatter, split	
kā	to go	< **kā*
kādǫ, *kǫdǫ*	to go	

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kōd̤ǫ	to blow	< **kō*
kōṅǫ	to blow	
kwōd̤ǫ	pole	< **kua*
kwārǫ		
kū	thief	< **ku, kua*
kwālǫ	to steal	
kwāṅǫ	to take	< **kua*
kwōgǫ	to take	
kwayǫ	to herd	< **kua*
kwodǫ	to drive, herd	
mwǫṅǫ	to plaster	< **mu, mua*
mūlǫ	to plaster	
má	because	< **ma*
már	because	
awa	yesterday	< *awa*
awar-awa	the day before yesterday	

ṅǭgǫ	to vomit	< **ṅua*
ṅotǫ, ṅwotǫ	to spit	
kāgǫ, kę̄tǫ	split	< **kā*
fwǭjǫ	to thank	< **pua*
pākǫ		
rǫbǫ	to string beads	< **rǫ*
rǫtǫ	to sew	
tę̄nǫ	to pour out drop by drop	< **tę*
tę̄ṅǫ	to strain beer	
tǭnǫ	to pick	< **tua*
twārǫ	to pick, gather, clean	
wōd̤ǫ	to pull out	< **wo, wua.*
wǫrǫ	to pull out	

6. **Consonant, semivowel, and vowel**, which may again be followed by another augment.

These forms are also very frequent.

kwā grandfather, *kwi* some, *kwot* shield, *gwǫk* work, *kwǫ́p* talk, *lwak* cow-house, *lwǫl* gourd, *kwach* leopard, *kwālǫ* to steal, *kwakǫ* to embrace, *kwāṅǫ* to swim; *fyęchǫ* to ask, *kyędǫ* to refuse, *gyę̄nǫ* fowl, *tyēlǫ* foot, etc.

In 21, 22 I have, with the help of related languages, tried to show that in many, if not in all, cases the semivowel is to be traced to an original vowel, so that here also the primitive stem would be one consonant and one vowel. Compare:

ṅudǫ	to cut	< **ṅu* + *a*
ṅālǫ	to butcher	
ṅǫlǫ	to cut	
kū	thief	< **ku* + *a*
kwālǫ	to steal	
kwāṅǫ	to swim	< **ku* + *a.*
Nu. *kuǵe*	to swim	

For more examples see 69.

7. **The forms 5 and 6 may have a vocalic suffix**, which consists
a) in the vowel *ǫ;* it is added to the verb in the present tense, and to the singular of many substantives.

gǭgǫ to work, *kād̤ǫ* to go; *jāgǫ̀* chief, *jālǫ* man, *obwǫṅǫ* white man, *aṅę́ṅǫ̀* an ant, *àchwǭtǫ̀* loin-cloth, etc.

In certain words this *ǫ* may be pronounced or dropped at will: *obwǫṅǫ* or *obwǫṅ*, *jālǫ* or *jal;* moreover it is sounded so slightly, that one very often

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overhears it. — In the Nuer language *ǫ* is a suffixed demonstrative pronoun; it may originally have had the same meaning in Shi.

In the following cases a verb is formed from a noun by adding *ǫ*: *wich* head, *wijǫ* to make a roof ("a head") *lach* urine, *lājǫ* to piss.

b) in the vowel *i*: stem *rūm* to cover, *rūmi* a cover; stem *chām* to eat, *chāmichami* a bait; stem *gǫj* to strike *gǭjì-gòchi̥s* word.

c) the plural-suffixes see.

8. **Words with prefixes.**

The Shi. has two vocalic prefixes, *a* and *o*. In most cases these prefixes have a distinct function: *by prefixing a or o to a verb, the verb becomes a noun.* This is a law prevailing in very many Sudan languages, eastern as well as western. Examples.

bṳ̀	to have not — *àbṳ̀* poor
chāgǫ	to compose a song — *achak* poet
chęmǫ	to make straight, to aim — *àchę́m* straight
gē̱t̠ǫ	to bless — *àgḛ̌t̠ó* blessed
gwę̄nǫ	to pick up — *àgwę́n* a bastard child (a child "picked up")
kārǫ	to branch off — *akar* branch
kwǫrǫ	to winnow, *àkwǫ̌r* husk
lūṅǫ	to be turned upside down — *alŭṅ* somersault
mą̄t̠	(to be) slow — *ámą̂t̠* a stork
nāgǫ	to kill — *dnę́kò* spirit of a deceased person
bṳgǫ	to press the bellows — *óbṳ̀k* bellows
chōdǫ	to break off — *óchǒ̂dǫ̀* a cow whose horns are broken, a hornless cow
di̥kǫ	to darken (said of the sun) — *odi̥ṅǫ* cloud-shadow
rǭgǫ	to hollow — *órǫ̌gǫ́* hollow
ti̥ṅǫ	to raise, lift up — *óti̥ṅó* stones raised up, dam
t̠ǭrǫ	to make a ford — *ót̠ǫ́r* ford
d̠ǭlǫ	to swing — *òd̠ǫ̀lǫ̀* swinging
kǭgǫ	to blossom — *òkǫ̀k* flower
kǫnǫ	to stimulate — *òkǫ̀n* stimulating
rǭṅǫ	to be astute — *òrǫ̀k* astuteness
tę̆wǫ	to wag — *òtę̀u* wagging.

The prefix *o* often designates persons as descendants of other persons, as members of a tribe or nation:

wājǫ	sister *owājǫ* the child of the sister
nāyǫ	the mother's brother, *onāyǫ* the mother's brother's child
chōl	Shilluk *óchǒ̂lǫ̀* a Shilluk man
jāṅǫ	Dinka *ojāṅǫ* a Dinka man
māyǫ	the mother's sister *omāyǫ* the mother's sister's child
Dåk	name of a king *Ódåk* the son of *Dåk*.
bwǫṅ	foreign *obwǫṅǫ* a stranger, foreigner.

In some cases *a* or *o* are prefixed to a *noun*, thus giving it a peculiar sense:

lwę̄dǫ finger — *alwę̄dǫ* a dura which has four ears, like the four (long) fingers of the hand

mal front — *àmálǫ̀* the first 193*

tuṅ horn — *atuṅakyęl* "unicorn": rhinoceros. 197

Not all words with a prefix can be derived from words without a prefix, for example:

àbùch a certain cow, *ábáṅ* hammer, *ábích* five, *àbúrǫ̀* bushbuck, and many others.

In some words the prefix may be omitted at will:

atę̄gǫ and *tę̄gǫ* bead — *oyino* and *yinǫ* fisherman.

There are some other words beginning with a vowel, but here apparently the vowel is not a prefix:

àk these, *àn* this, *àchà* these, *áfà* in order that, *ę́n* he, him, *ōrǫ* to send, *ǫ́rǫ̀* relative by marriage, *áṅǫ̀* what?

In some of these a beginning consonant can be shown to have been dropped: *ę́n* ⟨ *γę́n*, *ōrǫ* to send ⟨ *wōrǫ*; *ǫ́rǫ̀* relative by marriage is in Ga. *wor*; in *áṅǫ̀* "what" *á* is evidently the deictic particle: "it is".

9. **Reduplication** is very rare. I have only met with one single example: *yiyi* to be possessed by a spirit. 193*

The Shilluks like to *repeat* a word or grammatical form which is to be emphasized: *é kędǫ, kędǫ, kędǫ* he was going, going, going: was going on for a long while; *gę bę̀nǫ̀ bę̀nè bę̀nè bę̀nè* they came all, all, all: all of them came; *lá̧u lá̧u lá̧u* very far away; *é chā́kį chā́kį* he approached slowly, stealthily; *yá nę̀n, yá nę̀n* I looked closely.

Recapitulation.

The word in Shi. may have the following forms:

1. a, 2. ba, 3. bau, 4. bia, 5. bat, 6. bwa, bwat, 7. batǫ, bwatǫ, 8. obat, obatǫ, obwatǫ; 9. baba.

COMPOSITION OF WORDS.

Nearly all compound words in Shi. consist in two or more nouns, which stand to each other in genetive relation; they are, properly speaking, no compound words, but two distinct, independent nouns; compare:

waṅ ágàk	"eye of the crow"	a kind of red dura
waṅ Ṅíkàṅ	"eye of Nyikang"	east
waṅ ṅu	"eye of lion"	a kind of red dura
wiy ṅu	"head of lion"	story, tale
wiy kyęṅ	"head of horse"	riddle

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wań wọt	"eye of house"	window
ţa tyẹ̀lọ̀	"basis of foot"	heel.

Sometimes the single part of combinations cannot be identified:

wá jàl ńé ńấrọ̀	a kind of red dura	*ţaţọ́dì*	a pole for pulling boats
wań wure lwal	south	*ţákưgì*	a little axe (these last three are compounds with *ţa* "basis").
ţàyè dì gāk	a cow, black with white throat		

Proper-names are often compounds: *Kwaţ Kẹr, Koyikwọn, Áţwọ̀dwọ̀i, Akùrùwâr, Awarejwọk, Óbàyàbwíjọ̀p*, etc.

Many of these combinations are no doubt whole sentences, which have been united into one word.

Some nouns, being frequently combined with other words, help to form certain grammatical categories:

ńa, in compositions often *ńe* "child, young one" forms deminutives, it frequently also designates nouns with a certain quality, similar to the Arab *abu* "father":

ńa yaţ a small, young tree *ńa rọ̄jọ* a young heifer, a calf
ńa riţ son of a king, prince *ńa kọ̄rọ* cotton seed
ńa gọl "child of the enclosure": wife
ńa bấń "child behind": slave, servant, liege-man
ńa kwách, ńa leţ, ńa fēlwọt names for cows;
Ńèlwâk, Ńeńấrọ́, Ńèjwâdọ̀, Ńègèr, Nelyẹch, proper names of persons and places.

pá < from *pách* "village, settlement, home" is frequently used in forming names of places:

Páchōdọ̀, Fámaţ, Fādèt, Fáţţù, Fábûr, Fàḏeàń,[1] *Fańikań* (also *Feńikań*), *Fákàń*, etc.

jal, pl. *jọk* "man" may designate the acting person or a possessor, it can be combined with a verbal noun or an original noun:

jale lwọk	"man of washing"	washerman
jal ńal	"man of butchering"	butcher
jal léń	"man of war"	warrior
jal yaţ	"man of tree"	medecine man, doctor
jal kẹ́r	"man of richness"	rich person.

ńate, pl. *tyẹń* man, person, is used in the same way as *jal:*

ńate nẹk	"man of killing"	murderer
ńate kwấyọ̀	"man of herding"	herdsman
ńate ńal	"man of butchering"	butcher
ńate kẹ́r	"man of richness"	rich man
ńate jwọk	"man of sickness"	sick person.

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[1] Note the assimilation of tone!

A peculiar kind of compound nouns is formed by *ṅān*, the nasalized form of *ṅate* "man, person"; *ṅān* is properly "*the* man", "this man", see 138. It may be combined with a noun, or, what is more frequent, with a verb in the present tense, and with a verb in the passive: 193*

ṅān e ḍāchọ, ṅān a ḍāchọ	"the person is a woman"	the woman
ṅān lōjọ	"the man (is) black"	a black man
ṅān chwọr, ṅān e chwọr	"the man is blind"	a blind person
ṅān e lẹ̄dọ, ṅān lẹ̄dọ	"the man (he) is shaving"	one who is shaving
ṅan e kộk	"the man (he) is hired"	a hired person.

In the following compound nouns the first part of the composition is known, but no more existing independently in the language.

tedigọ a red-brown cow, *teduk* a grey cow, *tẹtaṅ* a black cow, from **te* cow; compare Nu. *ti* cow, Ba. *ki-teṅ* cow. Compare also: *ḍeaṅ* cow < **ḍe yaṅ*, Nr. *yaṅ*; *ḍọk* < **ḍe ɣọk* cows, Nr. *ɣọk*. In both cases the word in Shilluk has two components: **ḍe* and *yaṅ*, *ɣọk*. [197]

The last consonant of the ruling noun undergoes a change in these words:

wọrnamtai a certain cow
wọregọ̀t a certain cow } from *wọṭ* "steer".
wọtyẹbyẹk a certain cow

THIRD SECTION:

GENEALOGICAL RELATIONS OF THE SHILLUK LANGUAGE.

THE DIALECTS OR DIVISIONS.

197 The Shilluk language is not confined to one single territory, but is spoken in different parts of the White Nile region, some of which are situated at considerable distance from one another. The largest section of Shilluk-speaking people live in what is generally called the Shilluk country, and only this part is known under the name of Shilluk people. The rest of the tribes speaking the same language have each their own name, both for people and language, but their languages are essentially one in structure and vocabulary with the Shilluk proper. There are, of course, dialectical differences, which are the natural consequences of the language being separated into locally different branches, so that each branch had its own way of development, and was in some measure influenced by its respective neighbour; but the following examples will make it evident that they are to be regarded as dialects of one language. It is to be noted that not only the selection of words given below are identical, but, as far as I have been able to judge, about 90 °/₀ of all words in these dialects are uniform, and so is the grammatical structure; the only remarkable deviation is that Gang (Acholi) has a noun-forming prefix *la-*, pl. *lu-*, which is Hamitic and corresponds to the Masai "article" *ol* pl. *il*.

The dialects or divisions of the Shilluk language are:

1. *Shilluk* proper.
2. *Anywak (Ańwak, also Anuak);* it is spoken a) on both sides of the Sobat between the Dinka Tribe Gnok *(Ńǫk)* and the Nuers, south-east of Abwong; b) in Abyssinia on both sides of the river Baro; c) in Abyssinia between the rivers Gelo and Akobo.

   The Anywak has been somewhat influenced by its neighbour, the Nuer; some grammatical formations coincide with those of Nuer. But during my stay in the Shilluk country I have convinced myself that it is possible without considerable difficulty to converse with an Anywak man in Shilluk. The Abyssinians call the Anywaks Jambo.
3. *Jur;* is spoken between the 7th and 8th degree of n. lat. and about the 28th and 29th degree of eastern longitude.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

4. *Dembo;* is spoken to the north-west of Jur, on both sides of the Bahr Dembo.

5. *Belanda;* is spoken south to south-west of the Jur, the habitat of both being separated by the Bongo or Dōr.

6. *Ber (Bȩ̄r);* is spoken south of the Bongo country and east of the Belanda, on the right bank of the Suĕ river.

7. *Beri (Bȩ̄ri)* is spoken in the province of Mongalla, on the right bank of the Nile, north-east of Lado.

On the map of A. E. S. the Beri ("Berri") are also called Beir; from this it is probable, that Beri and Ber are identical, Beri being the plural form of Ber. Again according to Schweinfurth[1] the Bongo designate the Jur by the name of "Behr", and on the map of A. E. S. in the habitat of the Ber the name "Jur" is put in; this seems to show the very near relationship of Jur, Ber and Beri; and as Belanda lies close to Ber, these two can also be nearly or totally identical.[2]

8. *Gang (Gaṅ)* or Acholi; is spoken in the country situated east, north-east and north of the Nile between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert. — The name Acholi, also Shuli, is evidently identical with the name of the Shilluk: *Chōlǫ*, the *i* in Acholi, Shuli denoting the plural.

9. *Nyifwa (Ńifwa)* or Ja Luo, also called Kavirondo; is spoken in part of the Kavirondo-country, in the north-east coastlands of Lake Albert, round the Kavirondo-bay.

10. *Lango* (Kitching: Umiru); is spoken in the Bukedi district, north and north-east of Lake Kioga. Kitching in his Grammar of the Gang Language page VII says: "The northern Bakedi or Lango seem to be distinct from the Umiru, and their dialect is unintelligible to the Acholi." But the words which Johnston gives under "Lango", are clearly a dialect of Acholi and Shilluk proper.

11. *Aluru* (Kitching: Alur); is spoken in the country north and north-west of Lake Albert and west of the Nile.

12. *Chopi;* is, according to Kitching, spoken between Bunyoro and the Victoria Nile. Sir Harry Johnston does not mention this name in "The Uganda Protectorate", but he says that the name *Luǫ*, which is given to several Shilluk dialects, also occurs in the north of Unyoro.

13. South of Nyifwa, on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, lives a small tribe called *Gaya;* they seem also to speak a dialect of Shilluk; but it is not sure.

14. The same is to be said of the *Jafalu*, who live to the north-east of Lake Albert.

These are the dialects or divisions of the Shilluk which are known to-day. It is, however, to be observed that the word "dialect" is not employed here quite in its usual meaning, as of some "dialects", chiefly Ber, Beri, Belanda,

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[1] Linguistische Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Central-Afrika (Berlin 1873) p. 61.

[2] Compare also B. Struck "An Unlocated Tribe on the White Nile", in Journal of the African Society 1908 page 75—78.

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Dembo, it is not known whether they do at all differ from each other, or whether they are rather divisions of one identical dialect. The distinctions which do exist between some of the divisions will best be seen from the examples following in the list below. In this list most of the dialects or divisions are illustrated:

Anywak from my own unpublished materials;
Jur in Schweinfurth, Linguistische Ergebnisse;
Ber is represented by a few words[1] in Petherick, Egypt, the Sudan and Central Africa, p. 481:

forehead	*wiy*	Shilluk *wich*
eye	*wang*	Shilluk *waṅ*
nose	*koum*	Shilluk *wum*
lip	*dack*	Shilluk *dǫk*
tooth	*lack*	Shilluk *lęk*
tongue	*laeb*	Shilluk *lęp*

The orthography of the original has been retained.

Gang in Kitching: An Outline Grammar of the Gang Language, London 1908.
Nyifwa in O. Baumann, Von Masailand zur Nilquelle, also in Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate.
Lango and *Aluru* in Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate.

Of *Dembo, Belanda, Beri* and *Chopi* I have not found any materials. *Dembo* and *Belanda* I include amongst the Shilluk dialects on the strength of Schweinfurth's statement ("Im Herzen von Afrika" page 63): north of the Jurs the more numerous Dembo and some smaller tribes of the same origin have their residence; and the Belanda live 80 (German) miles south of the Jur; they, in spite of the great differences in their habits, which have evidently been influenced by the Bongo, still have preserved the Shilluk language in a more or less pure form." The native traditions also designate the Belanda as belonging to the Shilluks.

Of *Beri* Emin Pasha says that they speak the same language as the Shilluks.

Chopi is mentioned by Kitching as belonging to the Shilluk group.

It is remarkable that many dialects bear the same name. As stated above, Acholi, also called Shuli, is doubtless identical with *Chōlǫ*, the name of the Shilluk proper. Likewise the name Luǫ occurs repeatedly: the Jurs call themselves Luǫ; the Aluru of Albert Lake, according to Johnston, more often pronounce their name Aluǫ, and this form appears again in the north of Unyoro and among the Ja-Luǫ (Nyifwa). Note also the names *Bę̄r, Bę̄ri, Bǭr,* (this last name is given to the Shilluk proper by the Dinkas), and *Bǫr,* which is the proper name of the Belanda.

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[1] These words are also given by Struck, An Unlocated Tribe.

THE POSITION OF SHILLUK AMONG OTHER AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

The Shilluk belongs to a clearly circumscribed group of African Languages, which is usually styled "Nilotic Languages". It is difficult to give the characteristic marks of the languages belonging to this group, as sufficient materials of all of them are not available. Some chief points are:

1. Mute and fricative sounds are in some cases interchangeable, chiefly *p* and *f* are often so.
2. Many, if not all, of the languages have interdental sounds (*ṭ ḍ ṇ*). I have found them in Shilluk, Anywak, Nuer and Dinka, and according to some German authors Masai and Ndorobo also have them.[1]
3. The stem in most cases consists in a consonant, vowel, and consonant, generally ending in a consonant.
4. Stems with a semivowel between the first consonant and the vowel are frequent. The stem-vowel is often a diphthong.
5. Probably in most of them intonation plays an important rôle.

The Nilotic languages consist of two sub-divisions:

a) The Niloto-Sudanic group.
b) The Niloto-Hamitic group.

It is probable that the Nilotic languages originally belong to the family of the Sudan-languages (vide below 95). The phonology, the form of the word and some grammatical peculiarities in all Nilotic languages point to this common origin. The vocabularies of all of them have certain sudanic elements. But at a certain former period all these languages have more or less strongly been influenced by languages of a different character, which are generally called Hamitic languages. They differ from the Sudanic languages chiefly in the grammatical gender, in the prevalence of accentuation instead of intonation, and in their more extensive possibilities of expressing formative elements. Rudiments of the grammatical gender are found in Shilluk also, see 126; likewise accentuation exists in Shilluk, but the means of forming words are scanty. On the other hand numerous Shilluk-words, which most probably are Sudanic, are found in languages generally counted as Hamitic.

So the line between Niloto-Sudanic and Niloto-Hamitic languages is not easy to define; they all have components of Sudanic and of Hamitic origin, only that in some cases the first is prevalent, in others the latter. But nevertheless the groups may be distinguished; the languages belonging to the Niloto-Sudanic group having a large number of words common to all of them, and many of which are clearly genealogically connected with the Western Sudan languages. In the formation of words and in the structure of their grammar they are essentially uniform; they have not the grammatical gender or only faint traces of it. On the other hand the Niloto-Hamitic group has not nearly so many words in common with the Sudanic group, as the idioms of the Sudanic group have with each other; in formation of words and in the wealth of formative elements they considerably deviate from the Sudanic group; and they have the grammatical gender. Whether accentuation is more, and intonation less prevalent in them than in the Sudanic group, is as yet unknown, but it is probable.

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[1] See for instance Meinhof on Ndorobo in Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Band X, 111; and Struck in „Die geographischen Namen im Gebiet der ostafrikanischen Bruchstufe". Reprinted from „Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten", Nr. 2, 1911.

To the Niloto-Sudanic group belong:

a) **Shilluk with its divisions or dialects.**

b) **Dinka and Nuer.**

c) Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya (Abo-Kaya), Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru.

Dinka is spoken a) in the northern part of the Bahr Ghazal province, b) on both sides of the White Nile between the 6th and 7th° n. l. (Bor), c) on both sides of the lower Sobat, d) on the right bank of the White Nile from near the mouth of the Sobat to Jebelein. Bahr Ghazal and Bor are probably the eldest seats of the Dinkas, from here they emigrated northwards. The dialect of Bor *(Bǫr)* seems to differ considerably from the dialects of the north. Dinka has in its vocabulary remarkable similarity with Bari; in accordance with this the Dinkas seem in their bodily appearance and their culture to be more strongly influenced by Hamitic tribes than the Shilluks are.

The *Nuers* live a) on the White Nile north of Bor, b) south of Tonga and of the lower Sobat, c) on both sides of the Sobat near Nasser.

Dinka and Nuer differ in their phonology and structure but slightly from the Shilluk dialects; they have, in common with Acholi and Anywak, the particles *chi* and *bi* for expressing past and future; these particles are not found in Shilluk proper. A great, probably the greater part of the words of both languages are essentially the same as in Shilluk, but to a considerable extent the vocabularies differ, so that both are to be considered as separate languages. They are nearer related to each other than to Shilluk.

c) Some tribes lying between the upper course of the rivers Rohl and Suē speak languages which seem to be in some broader way connected with the Niloto-Sudanic group, so that they are perhaps to be regarded as a sub-group of these. To this sub-group belong: Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya (Abo-Kaya), Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru. According to Schweinfurth and A. E. S. the six first-named of these tribes have really one language, which differs only dialectically, so that individuals of the different tribes understand each other.

In their vocabularies these languages considerably distinguish themselves from the Shilluk dialects as well as from Dinka and Nuer.

According to their topographical situation the three groups of Niloto-Sudanic languages may be designated thus:

a) The High Nilotic Group, comprising Mittu, Madi, Madi-Kaya, Abo-Kaya, Abaka, Luba, Wira, Lendu, Moru.
b) The Middle Nilotic Group, comprising the Shilluk cluster.
c) The Low Nilotic Group, comprising Dinka and Nuer.

The *Niloto-Hamitic group* may, according to B. Struck,[1] be divided into the sub-groups of Bari-Masai and Nandi-Tatoga. To the first belong: Masai, Ngishu, Elgumi, Teso, Sūk, Karamojo, Turkana, and Bari; to the latter: Tatoga, Ndorobo, Nandi, Kamasia, and Burkeneji. All these languages are situated in British- and German East-Africa.

The *Niloto-Sudanic languages* are a sub-group of the *Eastern Sudan Languages*, to which belong Nuba in the north, Kunama in the north-east, most languages of the southern Gesira (between White and Blue Nile), and others.

The Eastern together with the Central and Western Sudan-languages form the family of the *Sudan Languages*, which extend from near the Red Sea and Abyssinia through the whole continent to the Atlantic Ocean from the northern Cameroons to Senegambia.

In order to demonstrate the genealogical connection between Shilluk, the Niloto-Sudanic group and the Eastern Sudan languages on one side and the Western Sudan languages on the other side, the chief characteristics of the Sudan languages, as shown in my "Sudansprachen" may be given here:

1. they are monosyllabic, each word consisting in one syllable;
2. each syllable or word consists in one consonant and one vowel;
3. they are isolating, that is they have no inflection, and only few formative elements; the "class-prefixes" of the Bantu-languages and of some Hamitic languages are absent;
4. they have no grammatical gender;
5. intonation is prevailing in a higher degree than it is in Bantu- and Hamitic languages.

These characteristics are not preserved in their pure form in all Sudan languages, almost all of them showing some marks of development from the primitive stage to a more developed state, chiefly by adding augments to the original stem; this is still more the case, where a language has been strongly influenced by an idiom belonging to a different family. But in each Sudan language it will, to a certain extent, be possible to trace the later additions to a stem as such, that is to show that these words were originally simple stems

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[1] B. Struck, Über die Sprachen der Tatoga und Irakuleute. Reprinted from the "Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten", Ergänzungsheft 4. 1910.

197 consisting in one consonant and one vowel, to which certain elements were added at a later time.

In Shilluk the characteristics mentioned above can easily be traced:

1. the stems are monosyllabic; see 61;
2. though the majority of the words do not consist in one consonant and one vowel, it is shown in 68 that a number of stems can be traced to the original primitive form;
3. the language has no inflection; the vowel-changes occurring in the verb and noun, which come near to what might be called inflection, are most probably of Hamitic origin. The nouns have no class-prefixes;
4. grammatical gender is absent; the rudiments of it which do exist, are of Hamitic origin;
5. Intonation dominates in the language.

Comparative Lists of Words.

197 Their object is to show in a number of words:

a) the identity of Shilluk proper and its dialects or divisions.

192 b) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Niloto-Sudanic languages, viz. Dinka and Nuer.

c) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and other Eastern Sudan languages. Of these Nuba is treated in the list; it has a good number of words in common with Shilluk; in other Eastern Sudanic languages such common words are rarer.

d) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and Bongo; this language, though having its habitat amidst the Shilluk languages, shows remarkable connections with Central Sudanic languages, particularly with Bagirmi. Some of the Bongo-words which it has in common with Shilluk, may of course be loan-words.

e) the genealogical relation between Shilluk and a Niloto-Hamitic language, viz. Bari.

f) the genealogical relation of Shilluk and some other Eastern Sudan languages to the Western Sudan-languages.

a)—e) are comprised in one group; f) forms a group for itself. Both groups might without difficulty have been multiplied, but the examples given will suffice.

[In order to show more fully the affinities in vocabulary between the Niloto-Sudanic and the Niloto-Hamitic group, a number of words common to languages of both groups are given in their Hamitic form in the *Dictionary*. It will be seen that the conformities with Shilluk are more numerous in the Bari-Masai than in the Nandi-Tatoga group. The Dictionary contains also some hints regarding the very few words which are identical in Shilluk and in the High Niloto-Sudanic group.]

In the comparative lists some letters are used, which do not occur in Shilluk, and need therefore an explanation.

ę is the German ö in nötig "necessary"; it is pronounced in rounding the lips as if pronouncing an o and then saying an e. — Mitterrutzner's *å* I render by ǫ. ~ is the mark for nasalization: *ã* is nasalized *a* as in French an "year". *ǵ* is a palatal g, it sounds almost like j. In Nuer and Anywak the pronunciation of final mute consonants and even of y is in certain cases followed by a pressing of the larynx, so that the consonant sounds very abrupt, and is sometimes hardly audible. These sounds are rendered by ': *k̓*, *y'*, etc. (Some divisions of Shilluk as well as Masai and Nandi have the same sounds; see Johnston page 888.) — Kitching frequently writes "*or*" at the end of a word, where other languages have ǫ; I suppose that here "*or*" simply expresses ǫ, "*or*" being frequently used by English speaking authors for ǫ.

Most of the authors quoted do not distinguish *o* and ǫ, *e* and ę, some not even long and short vowels; none has marked interdental sounds; thus the differences between Shilluk and the other languages look greater than they really are, the difference being only one of orthography.

The following remarks belong to the second group only.

ụ, *ị* are narrow vowels; *ų*, *į* are wide vowels.

ḍ and *ḷ* are cerebral sounds; they are formed a little further back in the mouth than where the usual d and l are articulated.

ḳ is a transformed *k*; the changes which it undergoes in certain languages are different from those of the usual *k*.

χ is the German ch in "ach".

v is the English v.

ÿ is an i with rounded lips, as in German "übt".

ẃ is *ÿ* with a following short y.

First Group.

Shi. *bǫr* long
Ga. *bor* long
Ju. *bār* long
Di. *bar* long
Nr. *bǫr* long

Shi. *bàt* arm
Ga. *bat* arm

Any. *bat* arm
Ju. *bat* arm
Ja. *bāt* arm
La. *bāt* arm

Shi. *bǫţ* fish-spear
Ga. *bit* sharp
Ju. *bǫdi* fish-spear

Ju. *bǫt* sharp, pointed
Any. *bǫdi* sharp, pointed
Di. *bit* fish-spear
Nr. *biţ* fish-spear

Shi. *ábich* five
Ga. *abich* five
Ju. *abich* five

Any. *abíyò* five
Ja. *abich* five
Al. *abi* five
Ba. *bu* five

Shi. *bǭdǫ* artist, smith
Ju. *bōdo* artist, smith
Bo. *bǫro* artist, smith
Ba. *bōdo* artist, smith

Shi. *būl* drum
Ga. *bul* drum
Ju. *būl* drum
Any. *būl* drum
Nr. *būl* drum
Ja. *būl* drum
La. *būl* drum
Al. *vūl* drum

Shi. *bur* ashes
Ga. *buru* ashes
Ju. *bur* ashes
Nu. *oburti* ashes
Bo. *buruku* ashes

Shi. *butǫ* to lie down
Ga. *buto* to lie down
Ju. *budo* to lie down
Any. *butǫ* to lie down
Di. *but* to waylay

Shi. *byę̄l* dura
Ga. *bel* corn
Ju. *bęl* dura
Any. *byę̄l* dura
Nr. *bę̄l* dura
Di. *bel* dura

Shi. *chāk* milk
Ga. *chak* milk
Ju. *chak* milk
Any. *chāk* milk
Nr. *chāk* milk

Di. *cha* milk
Nu. *ichi* milk

Shi. *chāmǫ* to eat
Ga. *chamo* to eat
Ju. *shame* to eat
Any. *chama* to eat
Nr. *cham* to eat
Ja. *chamo, chygmǫ* to eat
La. *samǫ* to eat
Di. *cham* to eat

Shi. *chul* penis
Ju. *shul* penis
Any. *chul* penis
Nr. *chul* penis
La. *sūl* penis
Al. *chūl* penis
Ba. *toluto* testicles
Nu. *sorot* penis
Di. *chul* penis

Shi. *chuń, chwiń* liver
Ga. *chwin* liver
Ju. *shwiń* liver
Nr. *chwoń* liver
Di. *chweń* liver

Shi. *chūńǫ* to stop
Ga. *chuńo* to stop
Ju. *chųń* to stop
Any. *chūńǫ* to stop
Nr. *chuń* to stop

Shi. *chwǫr* vulture
Ga. *ochur* vulture
achút vulture
Ju. *achut* vulture
Nr. *chwǭr* vulture
Di. *chwor* vulture

Shi. *ádę̄k* three
Ga. *adek* three

Ju. *adak* three
Any. *àdágò* three
Ba. *bu-dǫk* eight, that is: five and three
Ja. *adek* three
La. *adek* three
Al. *adek* three

Shi. *ḍāk* pot
Ga. *dak* pot
Ju. *dak* pot
Any. *dak* pot
Nr. *ṯąk* pot
Ba. *dāk* pot

Shi. *ḍāṇ* man
Ga. *dano* man
Jur. *dano* man
Any. *ḍāṇ* man
Ja. *dānǫ* man
La. *danǫ* man
Al. *danǫ* man
Di. *run* man
Nr. *rān* man

Shi. *ḍǭk* mouth
Ga. *dok* mouth
Ju. *tio* mouth
Any. *ḍǭk* mouth
Ja. *dōk* mouth
La. *dǫk* mouth
Al. *dǫk* mouth
Di. *wtoch* mouth
Nr. *ṯǫk* mouth
Nu. *ak* mouth
Bo. *ndu* language
Ba. *ku-tok* mouth

Shi. *gǭjǫ* to beat
Ju. *goi* to beat
Any. *gwai* to beat

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Ja. *gūjǫ* to shoot
Bo. *gba* to beat
Ba. *gwai* to beat

Shi. *ogwal* frog
Ga. *ogwal* frog
Ju. *ogwal* frog
Any. *ogwal* frog
Nu. *guglati* frog

Shi. *gwok* dog
Ga. *gwok* dog
Ju. *guok* dog
Any. *gwok* dog
Ja. *gwok* dog
La. *guōk* dog
Al. *guōk* dog
Di. *jo* dog
Nr. *jǫk* dog
Ba. *dyoṅ* dog

Shi. *gyęnō* hen
Ga. *gweno* hen
Ju. *gyeno* hen
Any. *gwęnǫ* hen
Ja. *gweno* hen
La. *gwēno* hen
Al. *gwēno* hen
Bo. *ṅgono* hen

Shi. *jī* people
Ga. *jī* people
Any. *jō* people
Bo. *jī, ǵī* people
Ba. *gwea* tribe

Shi. *jwǫk* God
Ga. *jok* demon
Any. *jwǫk* God
Ju. *jwok* fortune
Ja. *juogi* ghost
La. *jǫk* God

Al. *jǫk* God
Di. *ajyek, ajǫk* demon
Ba. *ajwok, jwek* demon

Shi. *kǫbǫ* to take away
Ga. *kabo* to bring
Ju. *kābi* to bring
Di. *kap* to bring, take
Nr. *kǫ̂p* to take

Shi. *kādǫ* salt[1]
Ga. *kado* salt
Ju. *kada* salt
Any. *kadǫ* salt
Nr. *kādē* salt

Shi *kāgǫ* to split
Ga. *kak* to split
Nu. *kage* to split
Ba. *kagu* to split

Shi. *kęch* bitter
Ga. *kech* bitter
Ju. *kęch* bitter
Any. *kęch* bitter
Nu. *kag-al* sharp
Di. *kech* bitter
Bo. *ke* bile

Shi. *kich* bee
Ga. *kich* bee
Ju. *kich* bee
Any. *kich* bee
Ja. *kich'* bee
La. *kits* bee
Al. *kich* bee
Di. *kyech* bee
Nu. *kit, kuti* bee
Ba. *chi, chiwo* bee

Shi. *kǫt* rain
Ga. *kot* rain
Ju. *kǫt* rain
Any. *kǫt* rain
Ja. *kōt* rain
La. *kǫt* rain
Al. *kǫt* rain
Nr. *kǫt* rain, God
Ba. *kudu* rain

Shi. *akur* pigeon
Ga. *akuri* pigeon
Di. *kure* pigeon
Nr. *kir* pigeon
Nu. *kuru* pigeon
Ba. *gure* pigeon

Shi. *kwālǫ* }
kwǫtǫ } to steal
Ga. *kwalo* to steal
Any. *kwǫtǫ* to steal
Ja. *kwalǫ* to steal
La. *kwalo* to steal
Di. *kwal* to steal
Nr. *kwal* to steal
Ba. *kola-nit* theft

Shi. *kwęnǫ* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwēno* to count
Nr. *kwęn* to count
Di. *kuen* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

Shi. *kwāṅǫ* to swim
Ga. *kwaṅo* to swim
Ju. *kwaṅ* to swim
Any. *kwal* to swim
Nu. *kuǵe* to swim

Shi. *kwǫrǫ* cotton
Ga. *waro* cotton
Ju. *wara* cotton
Ba. *waro* cotton

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[1] salt made of grass-ashes.

197 Shi. *kwārǫ* grandfather
Ga. *kwaro* grandfather
192 Ju. *kwā* grandfather
Di. *kǫkwar* grandfather
Nr. *kwāro* chief
Ba. *ńa-kwari* grandchild

Shi. *kwārǫ* red
Ga. *kwar* red
Ju. *kwar* red
Nr. *kwār* red
Nu. *kor-gos* yellow

Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kway'* leopard
Bo. *kǫgo* leopard
Ba. *koko* }
kwaru } leopard

Shi. *kwęn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwęn* bread
kwęn bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwęn* bread
Bo. *koā* bread

Shi. *ākyęl* one
Ga. *achel* one
Ju. *akyęlo* one
Any. *àchyęlę* one
Ja. *achyel* one
Al. *achyel* one
Bo. *kelu* one
Ba. *bu-ker* six = five + 1

Shi. *kyę́n* horse
Ga. *kana* horse
Ju. *akaja* donkey
Any. *okwęgá* horse
Ja. *kasima* horse
Bo. *akasa* horse
Nu. *kach* horse, donkey
Ba. *kaine* horse

Shi. *lachǫ* to piss
Ga. *layo* to piss
Ju. *alach* urine
Any. *la* to piss
Ja. *lāch'* urine
La. *lās* urine
Al. *lāch* urine
Di. *lach* to piss
Ba. *lode* urine

Shi. *lęi* game
Ga. *le* game
Ju. *lai* game
Any. *lęi* game
Nr. *lęi* game
Ba. *lai* game

Shi. *lāmǫ* to pray
Ga. *lamo* to sacrifice
Di. *lam* to pray
Nr. *lam* to pray
Bo. *loma* God
Ba. *lǫm* to insult

Shi. *lēń* war
Ga. *lwen* war
Ju. *lwiń* war
Ja. *lweń* war
Any. *leń* war
Bo. *lań* gun

Shi. *alilit* bat
Ga. *olik* bat
Any. *aligá* bat
Di. *alich* bat
Ba. *lukuluti* bat

Shi. *lwǭkǫ* to wash
Ga. *lwoko* to wash
Ju. *lwok* to wash
Any. *lwǫk* to wash
Di. *lǫk* to wash
Nr. *lak* to wash
Bo. *dogu* to wash
Ba. *lalaju* to wash

Shi. *māch* fire
Ga. *mach* fire
Ju. *mach* fire
Any. *māyǫ* fire
Ja. *mach'* fire
La. *māch* fire
Al. *māch* fire
Di. *mai* fire
Nr. *māch* fire

Shi. *mādǫ* to drink
Ga. *mato* to drink
Ju. *māde* to drink
Any. *mādǫ* to drink
Ja. *madǫ* to drink
La. *matǫ* to drink
Di. *mat* to drink
Nr. *māṯ* to drink

Shi. *māgǫ* to catch
Ga. *mako* to catch
Ju. *maa* to catch
Any. *mak* to catch
Di. *mąk* to catch
Nu. *māge* to catch, steal
Ba. *mok* to catch

Shi. *mǫnǫ* to hate
Ga. *mon* to hate

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Di. *man* to hate
Nu. *mōne* to hate
Ba. *man* to hate

Shi. *mọ̄ṭ* slow
Ga. *mot* slow
Ju. *māde* slow
Di. *mät* slow
Nr. *mọ̄t* slow
Bo. *mẽt* slow
Ba. *madaṅ* slow

Shi. *nị̄nẹ* to sleep
Ga. *nino* to sleep
Ju. *nen*
nendo } to sleep
Di. *nin* to sleep
Nr. *nyẹn* to sleep
Nu. *nalū*
nāre } to sleep

Shi. *nẹnẹ* to see
Ga. *neno* to see
Any. *nẹ̄na* to see
Ja. *neno* to see
Nr. *nẹ̄n* to see
Nu. *nale* to see

Shi. *ṅaṅ* crocodile
Ga. *ṅaṅ* crocodile
Ju. *ṅaṅ* crocodile
Any. *ṅaṅ* crocodile
Ja. *ṅaṅ* crocodile
La. *aki-ṅaṅ* crocodile
Al. *ṅaṅ* crocodile
Di. *ṅaṅ* crocodile
Nr. *ṅaṅ* crocodile
Bo. *ṅaṅa* crocodile
Ba. *ki-ṅoṅ* crocodile

Shi. *ṅäjẹ* to know
Ga. *ṅeyo* to know

Ju. *ṅgo*
ṅaya } to know
Ja. *ṅeyo* to know
Any. *ṅig* to know
Nr. *ṅgeh* to know

Shi. *äṅọ̈* what?
Ga. *aṅor* what?
Any. *äṅọ̈* what?
Di. *ṅo*, *ṅu* what?
Nr. *ṅu* what?
Ba. *iṅo* what?

Shi. *peṅ*, *feṅ* earth
Ga. *pin* earth
Ju. *piṅ* earth
Any. *feṅ* earth
Ja. *piṅ* earth
La. *piṅe* earth
Di. *piṅ* earth
Nr. *peṅ* earth

Shi. *pi* water
Ga. *pi* water
Ju. *pfi*, *fi* water
Any. *pi* water
Ja. *pi* water
La. *pi* water
Al. *pi* water
Di. *pi* water
Nr. *pi* water
Ba. *piom* water

Shi. *fọ̈ṅẹ* to divide
Ga. *polo* to divide
Ju. *paṅ* to divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Bo. *ele-bake* to divide

Shi. *rẹ̈jẹ* fish
Ga. *rech* fish
Ju. *rẽyo* fish
Any. *reo* fish
Ja. *rech'* fish
La. *rech* fish
Al. *rech* fish
Di. *rěch* fish
Nr. *rech* fish
Nu. *ka-rē* fish

Shi. *rẹ̄mẹ* blood
Ga. *remo* blood
Ju. *remo* blood
Any. *rẹmẹ* blood
Ja. *remẹ* blood
La. *remu* blood
Al. *remo* blood
Di. *ryam* blood
Nr. *rygm* blood
Bo. *trama* blood
Ba. *rima* blood

Shi. *rïṅẹ* meat
Ga. *riṅo* meat
Ju. *riṅo* meat
Any. *rïṅẹ* meat
Ja. *riṅẹ* meat
La. *riṅo* meat
Al. *riṅo* meat
Di. *riṅ* meat
Nr. *rīṅ* meat
Nu. *arich*, *arji* meat

Shi. *rọ̈dẹ* thirst
Ga. *orwor* thirst
Ju. *ryau* thirst
Any. *ryo* thirst
Di. *rou* thirst
Ba. *rọdu* to wither

Shi. *rọ̄mẹ* sheep
Ga. *romo* sheep
Ju. *rōmo* sheep

197 Any. *rǫmǫ* sheep
Nr. *rǫ̃m* sheep
192 Bo. *rǫmbö* sheep

Shi. *rǫ̃mǫ* to meet
Ga. *romo* to meet
Ju. *romo* to meet
Di. *rom* to meet
Nr. *rõm* to meet
Ba. *rum* to meet

Shi. *rugǫ* to dress
Ga. *riko* to dress
Di. *ruk* to dress
Ba. *ruk* to dress

Shi. *wũm* nose
Ga. *um* nose
Ju. *hum* nose
Ja. *um* nose
La. *um* nose
Al. *um* nose
Any. *óm* nose
wum nose
Di. *um* nose
Nr. *rum* nose
Bo. *hǫmo* nose
Ba. *kume* nose

Shi. *áryàu* two
Ga. *aryor* two
Ju. *aryau* two
Any. *ɔ̀réàu* two
Ja. *areio* two
La. *ariě̃* two
Al. *ariě̃* two
Di. *rou* two
Nu. *ora, ore* twenty
Ba. *ǫri* two
bu-ryǫ seven = five + two

Shi. *ṭęk* (to be) hard
Ga. *tek* hard
Ju. *ṭęk* hard
Any. *ṭęk* hard
Di. *tyek* hard
Bo. *tigo* hard

Shi. *ṭęn*, pl. *ṭǫnę* small
Ga. *tidi* small
Any. *ṭęn* small
Ja. *ṭęn* small
Nu. *tin, tũń* small
tod small

Shi. *ṭǫuę* to die
Ga. *tor* to die
Any. *ṭǫu* to die
Ja. *tǫ* to die
La. *tǒ* to die
Di. *toņ* to die
Ba. *tuan* to die

Shi. *wãrę* shoe
Ga. *war* shoe
Any. *war* shoe
Di. *war* shoe
Nr. *wár* shoe
Nu. *kwarī* shoe

Shi. *wǫr* night
Ju. *war* night
Any. *wǫrę* night
Ja. *wǫr* night
Nr. *wǫ̃r* night
Nu. *awar* night

Shi. *wẽkǫ* to give
Ga. *weko* to give away
Di. *yek* to give
Ba. *yek* to give

Shi. *wẽlǫ* to travel
Ga. *wel* to travel
Ba. *wala* to travel

Shi. *wińę* bird
Ga. *wiño* bird
Ju. *wiño* bird
Any. *ŋẽyę* bird
Ja. *weńę* bird
La. *wẽn* bird
Al. *wińě̃* bird
Ba. *kwen* bird

Shi. *wõrę* to sing
Ju. *wǫr* song
Ga. *wer* song
Ja. *wir* song
La. *wer* song
Al. *wer* song
Nu. *owe* to sing
Ba. *yoyu, yolo* to sing

Shi. *yęi* boat
Ga. *yeya* boat
Ju. *yei* boat
Any. *yęi* boat
Ja. *ńjie* boat
La. *yede* boat
Al. *yei* boat
Bo. *yẽi* boat

Second Group.

The words in the first line designate the "original Sudanic form", which has been gained by comparing the sounds of a word in the different languages, and thus finding out those sounds which may be considered as the most primi-

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tive. This "original Sudanic form" is of course merely hypothetical. For more on this see my "Sudansprachen", from which the greater part of these words are taken.

S. bịa to come
E. *vá* to come
bá to come
T. *ba* to come
gbra coming into the world
G. *ba* to come
bla coming into the world
Y. *ba* shall, should
Ibo *bia* to come
Isoama *bia* to come
Eafeng *ba* to come
Abouré *va* to come
Alaguiang *va* to come
Avikam *ba, iba* to come
Mékyibo *ba* to come
Di. *abi* prefix of future
Nu. *bi* prefix of future
Shi. *bi, bia* to come
Any. *bi* prefix of future
Nr. *bi* prefix of future
Ga. *bino* to come

S. bụagị to fear
E. *vọ̃* to fear
Ef. *bak* to fear
Shi. *bọ̃kọ* to fear
bwọ̃kọ to frighten
Any. *bogk* to fear

S. bụla open place
E. *ablẹ* open place
F. *abọ-atsá*, *abrọ-atsá* main street, open place
G. *blẹ* street
V. *bar* large, open place
Nu. *bud* place before the house
Di. *bar, abora* market place
Shi. *bụra* open place

S. ga place
E. *gà* place
T. *gha* this place
N. *ga* this, that
Nu. *aga, agar* place
Shi. *ga* this
agak these

S. gaga cowrie
E. *àgàgà* cowrie
Di. *gak* cowrie
Shi. *gọgọ* cowrie
Ga. *gage* cowrie
Nr. *gak* cowrie
Bo. *gaki* cowrie

S. guanị antelope
E. *gbàgbà* antelope, "unicorn"
G. *ámaá*, *áma*, *ámaáma* antelope, "unicorn"
Y. *agbaá-rere* "unicorn"
Shi. *aáwak* waterbuck

S. kụagị, kụalị to embrace
E. *kplà* to embrace
T. *kwaá* to wind around
G. *kplã* round about
Ef. *ukwaá* winding
kpaá to fold (hands)
Y. *kpọ̃* to carry on the back
Nu. *kat* to envelop
Di. *kwak* to embrace
Shi. *kwakọ* to embrace
Ga. *kwaka* to embrace

S. kụagị, kụiagị leopard
E. *kpọ̃* leopard
T. *etúri* leopard
Ef. *ekpe* leopard
V. *kori* leopard
N. *gkũ* leopard
Ku. *uńka* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Shi. *kwach* leopard
Ga. *kwach* leopard
Ju. *kwach* leopard
Any. *kwach* leopard
Ja. *kwach* leopard
La. *kwach* leopard
Al. *kwach* leopard
Di. *kwach* leopard
Nr. *kwoy'* leopard
Bo. *kọgo* leopard
Ba. *koka* leopard
kwaru leopard

S. kụanị bread, pudding
E. *akplẹ́* pudding of maize
Shi. *kwọn* bread
Ga. *kwon* bread
Ju. *kwọn*, *kwọn* bread
Any. *kwon* bread
Nr. *kwọn* bread
Bo. *koã* bread

197 *S. kwanį to count, read*
192 E. *χlẹ* to count, read
T. *kai* / *kane* } to count, read
G. *kane* to count, read
Y. *ka* to count
V. *kara, karaá* to learn
Di. *kwen* to count
Shi. *kwęnę* to count
Ga. *kwano* to count
Ju. *kwëno* to count
Nr. *kwęn* to count
Ba. *ken* to count

S. nḍę, nḍųa to lick, suck
E. *ḍé* to lick, suck
ḍuḍé to lick
Y. *adun* / *adgu* } taste
Nu. *dage* / *dach* } to lick
Shi. *ḍǫḍǫ* to suck, lick
Shi. *ḍwö̧ḍǫ* to suckle
Ga. *doto* to suck
Ju. *dot* to suck

S. pagį to divide
E. *afâ* part, half
T. *pae* to split
G. *afâ* half
Y. *apa* part
Ku. *fak* to split, divide
Nu. *fage* to divide
Shi. *pą̈nǫ* to divide

S. pųą to beat
E. *fo* to beat
T. *po* to beat
Ef. *foi* to beat
Plaoui *po* to beat
Téoui *po* to beat
Shi. *pwö̧dǫ* to beat
Di. *pwot* to beat

S. tįagį to be hard
E. *sę̃* to be hard, strong
Di. *chęk* to be hard
Shi. *tę̃k* to be hard, strong
Ga. *tek* to be hard
Ju. *tę̃k* to be hard
Any. *tę̃k* to be hard
Bo. *tigo* to be hard

S. tįį hand
E. *ashí* hand
Ku. *shi-ma* hand
Di. *chin, chyen* hand
Shi. *chyę̃nę* hand
Ju. *shyeno* hand
Any. *shyęnę* hand

S. tįį to bear a child; wife
E. *ashí* wife
Ku. *shí* to beget, bear
shâ begetting
Nu. *ash, ashí* daughter
Di. *tik* wife
Shi. *chí* wife.

Appendix.

Some Names of Languages, Peoples, and Rivers, as they are in use among the natives.

[101] *The Shilluks* call themselves: *Óchǫ̈lǫ̀* a Shilluk man, pl. *Chǫ̈l*, or *wate Chǫ̈l* "children of *Chǫl*"; their country: *fǫ̈ǫ̀ chǫ̈l;* their language: *ḍǫ̀ chǫ̈l*. The Shilluks are called by the Arabs: Shilluk, by the Dinkas: *Bǫr*, by the Nuers: *Tę̈t*.

The *Anywaks* call themselves: *Aáwak*, they are called by the Nuers: *Bálä̀k*, by the Dinkas: *Pálä̀k*, by the Abyssinians: Jambo.

The *Dinkas* call themselves: *Jḕŋ;* they are called by the Shilluks: *ǫ́jä̀ŋǫ̀* pl. *jä̀ŋ;* by the Arabs: Dinka, or Denka.

The *Nuers* call themselves: *Gáa̋ŋ* a Nuer man, pl. *Kę́gáa̋ŋ;* their language: *tǫ̈k Nä̀ŋ;* they are called by the Shilluks: *Nuę́r*, by the Dinkas: *Nä́ęr;* by the Arabs: *Nuę́r* or *Nawár*.

The Jurs call themselves De-Luǫ or Luǫ, by the Shilluks they are called Odimǫ, "descendants of Dimǫ", by the Bongo: *Bǫ̈r*. The Belanda call them-

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selves *Bgr*. Belanda is a Bongo word, *lande* = stone, hill; so Belanda is probably "hill-country".

The Nubians are in all three languages called: *Dǫ́i*, from "Dongola". According to Schweinfurth in Golo the Nubians are called Turuku, in Jur Oturu, in Bongo Turu; these names are doubtlessly derived from "Turk".

The Bahr Zeraf is called in Shilluk: *Otęl*, in Nuer: *Fęu*, in Dinka: *Piou* The Bahr Jebel is called in Shilluk: *Kër*; in Dinka: *Kër*, in Nuer: *Konam*; the Khor Filus is called in Shilluk: *Oluṅ*, in Dinka: *Peluṅ*, in Nuer: *Puluṅ*.

FOURTH SECTION:

THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

THE NOUN.

Singular and Plural.

*193 **Singular.** Many nouns have in the singular the suffix *ǫ;* in some nouns it may be dropped at will; on this and on the original meaning of *ǫ* see 71.

197 Some nouns denoting a plurality, are in their form singular, and are treated as such; e. g.: *lǫbǫ, tę̄dǫ* people.

Plural. The Shilluk is remarkable for its manifold means of forming the plural of nouns. These means may be divided into three principles; they are: plural-formation

a) by affixes,
b) by change of tone,
c) by change of vowel.

Generally in forming the plural of a noun, not only one of these means is employed, but several.

a) Plural-formation by affixes. In most Sudan languages the plural of nouns is formed by affixing to the singular a particle, which in most cases originally is a noun or a pronoun: "people, they". In Shi. this formation is represented by several vocalic and consonant affixes.

1. The most frequent plural-affix is the suffix *į*. Although by no means all nouns have this suffix in the plural, yet it is a question of feeling with the natives that they prefer it; if a foreign word is introduced into the language, it receives *į* in the plural; and on the other hand there are numerous genuine Shilluk words which sometimes are used with *į*, and sometimes without it in the plural. This leads to the supposition that possibly the ending *į* was formerly more employed than it is now, and that it may be the oldest and originally only ending for the plural. — The plural-suffix *i* occurs also in Masai and in Nuba and Kunama; in Kunama *i* is the personal pronoun of the third person plural: "they". It may be that the suffix *i* is of common origin in all these four languages.

Besides the vowel-suffix, there are several consonants which serve in forming the plural:

2. *k; gin* thing pl. *gik; k* may be shortened from the demonstrative pronoun *ak* "these"; in Di. the plural is formed in the same way, viz. by adding the

demonstrative pronoun *ke* "these".

3. *ṭ; ṭ* is possibly identical with the Anywak word *ṭoṭ* "many"; so that originally the word was common to both languages, but in Shi. it was exclusively retained for forming the plural, a different word being employed for "many". In Anywak the plural is frequently formed by simply adding "*ṭoṭ*". In some cases the plural is formed by adding *t* instead of *ṭ;* whether this is misheard by me, or whether there is really a class with *t* in plural, I do not know. — Di. also has the plural in *t (ṭ?): puou-puot* heart.

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4. A nasal consonant; some nouns form their plural in changing their last consonant into the corresponding nasal one, according to the rule given in 40; here doubtlessly a nasal consonant has been suffixed, which may be shortened from the demonstrative pronoun *an* "this, these".

While *ị* is used very much, and may, in a certain measure, be employed at will, *k, ṭ* and the nasal consonant are restricted to a small number of nouns.

5. Words whose second consonant is a voiced mute followed by a vowel, change this consonant into the corresponding voiceless one in the plural: *áfúdọ̀* pl. *áfúṭị*. In connection with this it is to be remarked that in those nouns which in their plural end in a mute consonant, *this consonant is always voiceless*, even when a vowel follows: *lẹk* teeth, *lẹka* my teeth, *lẹk ak* these teeth; this is contrary to the rule in 38; perhaps this voicelessness is the rest of a voiceless consonant which was suffixed for forming the plural, but assimilated itself in all cases with the preceding consonant.

6. Many nouns form their plural by dropping the singular-suffix *ọ: gyẹ̄nọ* hen pl. *gyẹn*.

7. A few nouns with the prefix *o* drop this prefix in plural; such are names of persons as belonging to a nation (patronymica): a Dinka man, a Shilluk man; here the plural-form may be the first, noting the nation as a collective mass, from this the singular was derived by prefixing *o*, which probably means: "he" or "one": "he a Shilluk". The opposite formation see in *rúm* pl. *órọ̀m* nose.

8. A peculiar kind of plural-formation in nouns designating relatives is that of prefixing *ńé* in the plural; *ńà* (also *ńè*) means "child"; it is low toned, but when expressing the plural, its tone rises. Examples:
ákẹ̀yọ̀-ńékọ̀i nephew; or: *ńàkọ̀i-ńékọ̀i* nephew.

[The partial conformity of the plural-affixes in Shilluk and Masai is remarkable. Just as in Shilluk one of the most frequent plural suffixes is *ị*, so it is also in Masai. Likewise *k, t* and a nasal suffix *(n)* are found in both languages. The plural-formation by dropping the final vowel *ọ* of the singular (see 108) has also its analogy in Masai, where a final *a* or *o (ọ?)*

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is dropped: *ol abura* plural *il abur* "froth"; *ol kurto* pl. *i kurt* "caterpillar". Hollis is probably right in supposing that in these words the plural is the original form, from which the singular was formed by adding ọ or *a*. — According to Hollis, Masai has no plural-distinction by tone. See Hollis page 18 ss.]

b) Plural-formation by change of tone. As stated above, the predomination of intonation is a characteristic of Sudan languages; but in none of those the change of tone is known to be a means of distinguishing singular and plural. In the western languages, of whom a greater number is thoroughly known, this function of the tone is sure not to exist; but it may be expected that on close investigation it will be found in other eastern Sudan languages.

By the change of tone the nouns are grouped into classes, a certain tone or group of tones in the singular always corresponding to a certain tone or group of tones in the plural. There do not seem to be very many nouns without the distinction of tone in singular and plural.[1]

This distinction is probably younger than the plural-formation by affixes. Though the intonation is no doubt genuine Sudanic, this particular employment of it, viz. the distinction of number, may be of foreign origin, a foreign element getting into the population and using the tone in quite a new way, which, until then, was not known to the primitive inhabitants. This is the more probable, as the change of tone is a process analogous to that of the change of vowel, which will be shown below. It might be supposed that both are of the same foreign origin, i. e. Hamitic. The older plural-formation by affixes seems gradually to be suppressed by the modern means, viz. change of tone and of vowel.

It is to be remarked that, as a whole, in plural the low tone is more frequent than in the singular, the low tone, together with the long vowel (see the following) conveying the notion of greatness or plurality.

c) Plural formation by change of vowel.[2] A plural-formation likewise unknown in western Sudan languages is that by changing the quantity or quality of the stem-vowel. This vowel-change is common in Semitic and Hamitic languages, and is in Shilluk probably to be traced to Hamitic influence. How far it is spread in the eastern Sudan group, cannot be stated now, but the Di. also has it. Quite of Hamitic character is the interchange of certain vowels in this way: the vowel-changes in one group are contrary to those in another group; the first group has long vowel in singular and short in plural; a second group short vowel in singular and long in plural; likewise the quality changes: one group has ọ in sing., *u* in pl.; a second group *u* in in sing., ọ in pl.; this peculiarity was first shown by Meinhof as existing in

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[1] According to Kitching in Gang most nouns have the same form for singular and plural; is it not possible that a distinction is made by tone, which has not been noted?

[2] Plural-formation by change of vowel-quantity and quality is also largely used in Dinka; see Mitterrutzner page 15.

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the Hamitic languages, and has been called by him "polarity".

The same tendency of interchange is to be seen in other formations, see for instance 119: singular prefix *o*, plural no prefix, and 119: singular no prefix, plural prefix *o*.

Though this formation be probably foreign and relatively young, it may contain some primitive principle of language building: It is worth noting that the large majority of nouns have short vowel in the singular and a long one in the plural; this may lead to the supposition (which is supported by results of studies in other African languages. In Ewe for instance adjectives with long vowel and low tone designate large things or beings, the same adjectives with short vowel and high tone express small things or beings.) that in an early stage of language the long vowel is expressive of the idea of "much, big, great".

Examples illustrating the different ways of forming the plural.

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a) Plural-formation by Affixes.

1. Suffix į.

ákǫ̈l-ákǫ̈lį	drum-stick	*ámáţ-ámàţį*	a stork
ánǫ̈n-ánǫ̀nį	a knife	*dywóm-dywòmį*	monkey
áchànǫ̀-áchànį	an ant	*pǫ̈m-pǫ̈mį*	board
ɣèrǫ̀-ɣèrį	a bead	*kàl-kǫ̈lį*	fence
ŋù-ŋùwį	lion	*lęu-lęwį*	lizard.

For more examples see below.

The ending į has in most cases low tone; where the tone is middle, the stem-vowel too has middle tone, that is, the tone of the suffix is assimilated to that of the stem.

2. suffix *k*.

pi-pik	water	*gin-gik*	thing	*dyęl-dyęk*	goat	*jal-jǫk*	man
lęjǫ-lęk	tooth	*mā-męk*	aunt	*męn-męk*	this one.		

3. suffix *ţ*.

ţún-ţöţ	buttocks	*wich-wăţ*	head	*yęi-yęţ*	boat
yįnǫ-yįţ	fisherman	*yech-yęţ*	belly	*kęu-kōţ*	breast
(lwǫl-lǫ̈t)	a gourd	*(yǫ-yǫ̈t)*	road.		

When in a noun with a consonant plural-ending the stem also ends in a consonant, the final consonant of the stem is dropped, the consonantal suffix taking its place; see 44.

4. nasal consonant as suffix.

ţǫgǫ̀-ţǫ̈nį	dura-basket	*kwàch-kwǫ̈nį*	leopard	*àiàdǫ̀-àiǫ̈nį*	breast-bone
yàţ-yǫ̈n	tree	*àtábǫ̀-àtâm*	tobacco	*ţabǫ-ţąmį*	dish.

Vice versa: *wanǫ-wąch* paper.

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5. voiced mute consonant becomes voiceless.

áfúdọ̀-áfúṭị̀	a fish	*átúdọ̀-átùṭị̀*	a wild goose	*bọ̀dọ̀-bọ̄ṭị̀*	blacksmith
gōjī-góchị̀	sword	*búḍọ̀-búṭị̀*	a melon	*dọ̀kā̧gì-dọ̀kọ̄kị̀*	dura-stick
òkṑdọ̀-ókọ̄ṭị̀	basket.				

Vice versa:

fúk-fúgị̀	tortoise	*órộk-órọ̀gị̀*	bell	*lwòp-lwòbị̀*	company.

6. dropping the singular-suffix *ọ*.

fālọ-fāl	knife	*gyẹ̀nọ̀-gyẹ̄n*	hen	*byẹ̀lọ-byẹ̄l*	dura
wìnọ̀-wìn	bird	*tọ̀ng-tọ̄n*	egg	*gwẹ̀lọ̀-gwẹ̄l*	ring.

7. dropping the prefix *o*.

obwong-bwon	white man	*óchōlọ̀-chōl*	Shilluk-man	*ójā̧nọ̀-jā̧n*	Dinka-man.[1]

Vice versa: *rúm-órọ̀m* nose.

b) Plural-formation by Change of Tone.

For completeness' sake the nouns which do *not* change their tone in plural, are also enumerated here. — Nouns with prefixes and those without them are separated, as they show differences of tone.

In some cases nouns with a slight deviation of tone have been grouped under the same heading; this has been done, because the differences do not seem to be essential and perhaps have been misheard. On the difference between ′ and ^ see 51.

Some nouns have two plural-forms.

Nouns with prefixes.

1.	*àchwàtọ̀-àchwàṭị̀*	loin-cloth	*àmàlọ̀-àmàlị̀*	camel
	òkọ̀k-òkọ̄k	egret	*òkọ̀k-òkọ̄k*	flower
	òkwọ̀k-òkwọ̄k	a goose	*òmẹ̀dọ̀-òmẹ̄t*	fire-fly
	òrọ̀k-òrọ̄k	craft.		
2.	*àdẹ̄rọ̀-àdẹ̄r*	arm-ring	*òchọ̄yọ̀-òchọ̄yị̀*	melon
	òpârọ̀	a gourd	*òṭwól*	blue
	àlùtọ̀-àlùṭị̀	fist	*àwâk-àwāk*	a bird.
3.	*òbọ̀u-òbọ̀wị̀*	lungs	*ògwẹ̄rọ̀-ògwọ̀rị̀*	blue heron.
	òbẹ̄r-òbẹ̄rị̀	feather	*ógwệrị̀*	
4.	*àkùr-àkúr*′	pigeon	*àṭẹ̄rọ̀-àṭẹ̄rị̀, àṭẹ̄r*	a spear
	àwóch-àwoch	a shell	*òlóẹ-òlòẹ̀*	duck
	ògwẹ́l-ògwẹ̄l	a bird.		
5.	*àchā́ṭ-àchā̂ṭ*	arm-ring	*àgwẹ́n-àgwẹ̄n*	bastard child.
6.	*àkyẹ́n-àkyẹ̀n*	gun-cock	*òbírọ̀-òbìr*	a pot
	àbúrọ̀-àbùr	bush-buck	*àchwā́ṭ-àchwā̂ṭ*	guinea-fowl
	àdẹ̄rọ̀-àdẹ̄r	donkey	*àṭẹ́p-àṭẹ̄p*	bag.

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[1] In one example the plural is formed by suffixing *r*: *rẹ̄ṭ-rōr* king.

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7.	*òkę̄dǫ̀-òkùtì*	hedgehog			*òlę̄lǫ̀-òlę̄lì*	club
	òńwę̂nǫ̀	an ant	*òńwę̄rǫ̀*	whip	*òtǭlǫ̀*	a white dura.
8.	*ówāńǫ̀-ówāńì*	heron			*ókwāńǫ̀-ókwāńì*	broom
	ótyę̄nǫ̀-ótyę̄n	a fish			*ótāgǫ̀-ótāńì*	a fish
	ówājǫ̀-ówàjǫ̀	cousin			*órǫ̂k-órǭk*	small bell
	óyį̄nǫ̀	crocodile-hunter.				
9.	*áchâń-áchàń*	a fish			*áchwīk-áchwìk*	anus
	ákwân-ákwàn	ear-lap			*álŭń-álùń*	somersault
	ámāt-ámātì	a stork			*ánǒń-ánǫ̀ńì*	a knife
	átĕt-átę̀t	mangouste			*áywóm-áywòmì*	monkey
	órāt-órāt	a snake	*ómì*	brother	*ómę̄n*	his brother
	ólwē-ólwè	marabout			*ófwǭn-òfwùn*	loaf
	ógīk-ógìk	buffalo			*ókŏk-ókǫ̀k*	a fish
	ókwōl-ókwòlì	gourd			*ókyę̄l-ókyę̀lì*	an ant
	ónyę̄t-ónyę̀tì	a snake			*ópāp-ópàp*	hip-bone
	ótwǭŋ-ótwǫ̀ŋì	hyena			*ótwǭŋ-ótǭŋ*	cock.
10.	*ábáń-ábáń*	hammer			*ákŏl-ákǫ́lì*	drum-stick
	ókwǭr-ókǭrì	serval			*ólák-ólę́kì*	a fish
	ótwę̄l-ótwę́lì	a fish			*òlām-òlę́mì*	sycomore
	òlęt-ólétì	hawk			*ótę̄t-ótį̄tì*	a pot.
11.	*ágàk-ágę́kì*	crow			*álę̄ńǫ̀-álę̄ńì*	a fish
	áchàńǫ̀-áchúńì	an ant			*ádàlǫ̀-ádālì*	a gourd
	ádǭlǫ̀-ádǫ́l	a fish			*áfúdǫ̀-áfútì*	a fish
	ódę̄b-ódę́kì	a mat			*ógǭńǫ̀-ógǭńì*	bracelet
	ógwāl-ógwę́lì	frog			*óywàk-óywę́kì*	a crane.
12.	*átúdǫ̀-átùtì*	wild goose			*áyǭmǫ̀-áyǭm*	tin
	áfę̄dǫ̀-áfę̄t	skunk			*ágę̄rǫ̀-ágę̀r*	a hair dress
	ágę̄rǫ̀-ágǫ̀r	neck-bone			*áńę́ńǫ̀-áńę̀ń*	a red ant
	átwák-átwàk	a bird			*áyìę̄r-áyìę̀rì*	quail
	ódę̄rǫ̀-ódę̄r	kiddle			*ógwǭk-ógǭkì*	jackal
	ómę̄rǫ̀	red dura			*ómǭdǫ̀*	a cow
	óńǭgǫ̀	a cow			*òrûp-órùp*	spider
	ótę̄r-ótę̀r	a ford			*ówáù-ówàù*	ibis
	ówāt-ówāt	a mat			*órǫ̂ch-órǫ̀ch*	ram
	ótwǭk-ótwǫ̀k	male goat			*ómórǫ̀-ómòr*	roan antelope
	ómāyǫ̀-ómàì	cousin			*óbǭgǫ̀-óbǫ̀k*	albino
	òlwāyį̀-ólwàì	a shrub			*ódǭlǫ̀-ódǭl*	a cow

	ódābò-ódàp	blanket	*ógâl-ógàl*	mule
	ógàlọ̀-ógàlị̀	mule	*ónâyọ̀-ónài*	cousin.
13.	*ókộdọ̀-ókộtị̀*	basket	*órọ́k-órộgị̀*	bell.
14.	*óchyẹ̀nọ̀-óchyẹ̀n*	loin-cloth.		
15.	*ógwé-ógwê*	bow.		
16.	*álẹ̀bọ́-álị́pì*	a bird	*ónẹ̀lọ́*	red earth.
17.	*ádị́nọ̀-àdị̂n*	a fish	*átện-àtàn*	hat
	ókwộn-òkộn	feather	*ókwệk-òkwộk*	goose
	ókộk-òkộk	egret.		
18.	*áchyẹ̀ngọ-àchyẹ̀n*	an ant	*áywâk-àywàk*	crest
	ŏrọ̀-ŏr	ant-hill	*ọ́rọ̀-ọ̀r*	relations by marriage.

Perhaps in these last two examples ō and ọ are not prefixes, but vowels of the stem, the first consonant (perhaps *w*) having been dropped; see 33.

19.	*ókọ́t-òkột*	bell		
20.	*àkộn-ákộnị̀*	gazelle	*ànâdọ̀-ánânị́*	breast-bone
	(àtâbó-àtộm	tobacco).		
21.	*àjwộgọ́-ájwọ̀k*	sorcerer.		
22.	*òtyẹ́m-ótyẹ̀m*	dragon-fly.		
23.	*òlẹ̀ṭ-ólẹ́ṭị̀*	hawk	*òbẹ̀ch-óbíêch*	reed.

Nouns without prefixes.

1.	*bộlọ̀-bộl*	face	*bộnọ̀-bộnị̀*	lizard
	bòṭ-bòṭị̀	bachelor	*bwọ̀nọ̀-bwọ̀nị̀*	a fish
	byẹ̀rọ̀-byẹ̀r	root	*chôr-chọ̀r*	vulture
	chùṭ-chûṭ	tooth-brush	*chwài-chwàyì*	broth
	chwộk-chwộk	ambassador	*chwàrọ̀-chwàr*	bug
	dàtọ̀-dàt	hoof	*dẹ̀n-dẹ̀nị̀*	jaw-bone
	fàlọ̀-fàl	knife	*gàt-gât*	river-side
	gìn-gìk	thing	*gọ̀k-gộk*	ring
	gwệlọ̀-gwệl	ring	*gyẹ̀k-gyẹ̀k*	water-buck
	kwòm-kòm	back	*kyẹ̀ṭ-kyệṭ*	a fish.
2.	*gệlọ̀-gệlị̀*	slope	*gâgọ̀-gâk*	cowry
	bûdọ̀-bût	a shell	*búdọ̀-búṭị̀*	melon
	châmì-chámì	bait	*dàkâgì-dàkâkì*	dura-stick
	dộrọ̀-dộrì	axe	*fâl-fệṭ*	spoon

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	fòḍọ̀-fộṭ	country	*fệlọ̀-fệl*	cloud
	jâgọ̀-jâk	chief	*kwọ́ṭ-kwọ́ṭ*	dung-hill.
3.	*gộlọ̀-gộl*	bight	*γẹ̀rọ̀-γẹ̀rị*	a bead
	kàl-kậlị	fence	*kệdọ̀-kệṭ*	a fish
	kwàch-kwáñị	leopard	*pậm-pậmị*	board
	fùḍọ̀-fúṭ	lame person.		
4.	*chôgọ̀-chôk*	a fish	*fúk-fúgị*	tortoise
	fyẹ̀r-fệrị	back-bone	*gâńọ̀-gâń*	button
	jôp-jôpị	buffalo	*kâń-kâńị*	trumpet
	kâwọ̀-kâwị	beam	*kìt-kìṭị*	rock
	kù-kúwị	thief.		
	fûk-fûkị	pot	*gûṭ-gûṭị*	hammer.
5.	*byệlọ̀-byẹ́l*	dura	*byẹ̀rọ̀-byẹ́r*	belly
	pûr-pẹ́rí	hippo	*kyẹ̀ń-kyẹ́ń*	horse
	(dệl-dệl	skin).		
6.	*bọ́i-bọ̀i*	net	*bǒr-bọ̀r*	boil
	chûrọ̀-chùr	a fish	*ḍọ́k-ḍọ̀k*	mouth
	gǒjì-gòchị	sword	*gúlọ̀-gụ̀l*	cannon
	gût-gût	navel	*ọ́rọ̀-ọ̀r*	relations by marriage
	kwộnọ̀-kwọ̀nị	solo-singer	*kọ́ch-kùchị*	axe
	kwọ́ń-kwọ̀ń	report	*kyệlọ̀-kyẹ̀l*	star.
7.	*gyệlọ̀-gyệl*	ring	*bàk-bậk*	fence
	bâńọ̀-bâń	locust	*bọ̀ḍọ̀-bộṭị*	blacksmith
	chúl-chûl	penis	*ḍàń-ḍâńị*	dancing-stick.
8.	*bànọ̀-bânị*	meat on the skin	*bàt-bật*	arm
	chùgọ̀-chûk	charcoal	*dàk-dậk*	pot
	fyẹ̀n-fyẹ́nị	skin	*gwòk-gúòk*	dog
	gyệnọ̀-gyẹ́ṇ	hen	*jàch-jâch*	shoulder
	kệnọ̀-kệnị	gourd	*kwârọ̀-kwẹ́rị*	pole
	kwòt-kôt	shield	*kwòm-kúòmị*	board.
9.	*kwộṭọ́-kwộṭ*	farting	*fàrọ́-fârị*	mat.

c) Plural-formation by vowel-change.

Change of the quantity of the stem-vowel.

1. Singular short vowel, plural long vowel.

òkọ̀k-òkộk	igret	*òkọ̀k-òkộk*	flower
òrọ̀k-òrộk	craft	*àwák-àwâk*	a bird

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òrọ́k-òrộk	a small bell	*chùṭ-chût*	tooth-brush
gạt-gật	river-side	*chwàk-chwâk*	ambassador
òkwọ̀k-òkwộk	a goose	*ògwọ́l-ògwộl*	a bird
àchúṭ-àchûṭ	arm-ring	*àgwẹ́n-agwẹ̀n*	bastard
àchwáṭ-àchwâṭ	guinea-fowl	*óṭwọ́ŋ-óṭộŋ*	cock
átwâk-átwàk	a bird	*órâp-óràp*	spider
ówệt-ówẹ̀t	a mat	*óñwọ́k-óñwọ̀k*	male goat
ógâl-ógàl	mule	*átẹ́ñ-àtàñ*	hat
ókwọ́n-òkwọ̀n	feather	*ókọ́t-òkột*	bell
dàtọ̀-dàt	hoof	*kàl-kâlị*	fence
fyẹ̀r-fệrị	back-bone	*bàk-bâk*	fence
dak-dâk	pipe.		

In the first eight examples the short and long vowel are the only distinction between singular and plural.

2. Singular long vowel, plural short vowel.

châmị-chámì	bait	*ògwộrọ̀-ògwộrị*	blue heron
òlâm-ólẹ́mì	sycomore	*òlẽt-ólétị*	hawk
óbộgọ̀-óbọ̀k	albino	*óchyệnọ̀-óchyẹ̀n*	loin-cloth
àjwộgọ́-ájwọ̀k	wizard	*òlẽṭ-ólẹ́ṭị*	hawk
chòr-chọ̀r	vulture	*byệlọ̀-byẹ́l*	dura
pâr-pẹ́rí	hippo	*bòr-bọr*	boil
gôjì-góchì	sword	*kyệlọ̀-kyẹ̀l*	star
gyẹ̀nọ̀-gyẹ́n	hen	*kwârọ̀-kwẹ́rị*	pole.

Only in the first word the plural is distinguished from the singular by the short vowel only.

Change of the Quality of the Stem-vowel.

1. The stem-vowel of the singular turns *ẹ* in plural.

ágàk-ágẹ́kì	crow	*pàr-pẹ́rì*	hippo
ógwàl-ógwẹ́lì	frog	*ódẹ̀k-údîkì*	a mat
óywàk-óywẹ́kì	crane	*ótwệl-ótwẹ́lì*	a fish
ólǎk-ólẹ́kì	a fish	*ótẹ̀t-ótítì*	a pot
òlâm-ólẹ́mì	sycomore	*álẹ̀bọ́-álípì*	a bird
fâl-fệt	spoon	*òlẽt-ólẹ́tì*	hawk
kwârọ̀-kwẹ́rì	pole	*ògwộrọ̀-ógwệrì*	blue heron.

In some words the vowel in plural is not *ẹ*, but *e* or *i*; as these are closely related to each other, and perhaps *e*, *i* are misheard for *ẹ*, I have classed them together.

In all these nouns the stem-vowel has high tone in plural; probably the high tone and the reduction of the vowel to ẹ are in some causal connection; vide 16.

2. The stem-vowel of the singular — mostly *a* — turns ạ in plural.

àchwọ́ṭ-àchwạ̄ṭ	guinea-fowl	*kàl-kạ̄lị*	fence
bàk-bạ̄k	fence	*dàk-dạ̄k*	pot, pipe
òkwọ̀k-òkwạ̄k	a goose	*ókwék-òkwạ̄k*	a goose.

Here the short vowel of the singular becomes long in plural; the lengthening of the vowel may be the reason of its turning into ạ; see 17.

3. singular *a* pl. ẹ.	*mā-mẹk*	aunt	*yaṭ-yẹṇ*	tree.
4. singular ẹ pl. *a*.	*dtẹ́n-dtàn*	hat	(*yẹi-yạ̄t*	boat).
5. singular ạ, pl. *o*.	*rạṭ* (*riṭ*, see 16) *-rōr*	king.		
6. sing. ẹ pl. *e*.	*gyẹ̀t-gyèt*	waterbuck.		
7. sing. *e* pl. ẹ.	*dtĕt-dtẹ̀t*	mangouste	*ániénọ̀-dnẹ̀n*	red ant
	òwĕt-òwẹ̆t	a mat	*yech-yẹṭ*	belly.
8. sing. *e*, pl. *i*.	*yèṭ-yìṭ*	a well	*yèṭ-yìṭ*	scorpion.
9. sing. *i* pl. ạ.	*wich-wạṭ*	head.		
10. (sing. *a*, ẹ, *ē*) pl. ọ.	*jal-jọk*	man	*mẽkọ-mọ̄ko*	some
	ṭẹ̄ṇ-tọṇọ	small	*ȧnọ̀-ọ̄nọ̀*	what
	mẹn-mọk	these.		

The plural-vowel ọ is remarkable, as it does not correspond to a certain vowel in singular, but is a class of its own; it not only forms the plural of nouns, but also of pronouns and adjectives. Note also *ānọ-ọ̄nọ*; *ā* is the deictic pronoun "it is"; but here it is treated like a radical vowel and thus changed in plural.

11. sing. ọ, pl. *u*, ụ.	*ńaɣọlọ-ńawulị*	an axe	*kọ́ch-kùchị*	an axe
	òkọ́dọ̀-òkútị	hedgehog	*mọgọ-mụkị*	beer.
12. sing. *u* pl. ọ.	*rúm-ôrọ̀m*	nose.		
13. sing. *o* pl. ọ.	*dńón-dńọ̀nị*	a knife	*bŏr-bọ̀r*	boil
	toch-toach	gun; see 22	*chôr-chọ̀r*	vulture.
14. sing. ọ pl. *wọ*.	*mọ̆k-mwọ̄k*	dog-head fish.		
15. sing. *wọ*, *wo* pl. ọ, *o*, *u*.	*óṭwọ̀ṇ-óṭọ̄ṇ*	cock	*ókwọ̆r-ókọ̆rị*	serval
	ógwọ̆k-ógọ̆kị	jackal	*ókwọ́n-òkọ̆n*	feather
	lwọl-lọ̆t	a gourd	*ṭwol-ṭōlị*	snake
	kwòm-kôm	back	*kwòt-kôt*	shield
	ófwŏn-ófûn	loaf.		
16. sing. *wo* pl. *uo*.	*gwòk-gúòk*	dog	*kwòm-kúòmị*	board.
17. sing. *yẹ* pl. ẹ.	*fyẹ̀r-fẹ̆rị*	backbone.		
18. sing. *yẹ*, ẹ, *i* pl. *iẹ*.	*lyẹch-liẹ̆ch*	elephant	*yẹṭ-yiẹ̀ṭ*	neck
	òbịch-óbíẹ́ch	reed.		

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Gender.

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Gender is expressed in the noun only, not in pronouns. The natural gender may be marked in two ways:

a) by different words.

chwọu	man	*ḍācho*	woman	*wọṭ*	bull	*ḍeań*	cow
ónwọ́k	male sheep or goat			*dyẹ́l*	female goat.		

b) by adding *ótwọ̀n* for the male, *mâṭ* for the female gender.

ńù ǫ̀twọ̀n male lion	*ńù mâṭ* or *mâṭ ńù* female lion
ṭǫ̀ní ńù male lions	*mâṭí ńù* female lions
kyẹ̀ń ǫ̀twọ̀n or *kyẹ̀ń à twọ̀n* male horse	*kyẹ̀ń a mâṭ* or *mâṭ kyẹ̀ń* female horse
kyẹ́ń à ṭǫ̀n male horses	*kyẹ́ń à mâṭ* female horses

twọ̀n ómẹ́rọ̀ male roan antelope, pl. *ṭǫ̀n ómẹ́rọ̀*
mâṭ ómẹ́rọ̀ female roan antelope, pl. *mâṭ ómẹ́rọ̀*.

In one single word, however, the Shilluk expresses the gender by phonetic means: *ńa* child *ńal* boy *ńan* girl.

Here evidently *l* and *n* are added to the word *ńa* in order to mark its gender, *l* for the male, *n* for the female gender.

[That this case is not merely accidental, will be clear from the fact that by the same means gender is expressed in the Bari language; here it is not the nouns, but demonstrative pronouns which receive the affixes *l* and *n*:

lo	this m.	*lu*	that m.
na	this f.	*nu*	that f.
pl. *chi-lo*	these m.	*chi-lu*	those m.
chi-na	these f.	*chi-nu*	those f.
lu-yu	that one yonder m.	*chi-lu-yu*	those yonder m.
nu-yu	that one yonder f.	*chi-nu-yu*	those yonder f.
li-o	my m.	*il-ot*	your m.
ni-o	my f.	*in-ot*	your f.

In the noun, feminine is distinguished from masculine by the suffix *et*. The same distinction by the same means has Masai.

The distinction of a grammatical gender is surely not Sudanic, it is not known in other Sudan languages; so we have doubtlessly Hamitic influence here. The Shilluks must have been in contact with (a Hamitic) people who expressed in their language the grammatical gender by *l* and *n*, but this contact was not long or strong enough, to make the distinction of gender a living factor in the language; so only a faint trace of it was left. There is one more *Sudan language,* which has a similar distinction: the Songhai (on both banks of the middle Niger). This language has, in

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the same way as Bari and Masai, a kind of article, *di* for living beings, *si* for inanimate things. I believe that *di* is identical with *li*, *l* and *d* often changing in African languages; vide the examples in the comparative Lists of Words in Third Section. If this is right, the Songhai (in which, though, this distinction will not be original, but borrowed from some Hamitic language) represents an elder stage in the development of grammatical gender: living 〉 masculine, inanimate 〉 feminine or neuter (which may originally be the same, as with primitive men woman is rather a thing, a merchandise, than a person).]

A second way of distinguishing gender by phonetic means is represented in the following word:

ógwẹ́l an ox with the horns turned toward the eyes
ágwẹ́lọ̀ a cow with the horns turned toward the eyes.

Case.

Genetive.

The ruling noun is a singular.

1. The genetive follows the noun determined by it. The noun ends in a consonant; in these cases the two nouns unite without any connecting element or phonetic changes:

wọt	house;	*wọt jāgọ̀*	house of the chief
lọṭ	club;	*lọṭ obwọ̄n*	club of the stranger
àgẹ̄p	bag;	*agẹ̄p jal gạ̄i*	bag of this man
okọ̄k	blossom;	*okọ̄k yạṇ gạ̄i*	blossom of this tree
yịṭ	ear;	*yịṭ kyẹ̀n*	ear of the horse.

There are, however, a few exceptions, chiefly if the final consonant is *k* or *ch*, and the next word begins with a consonant;

a) sometimes the "helping vowel" is inserted:

kidọ	colour;	*kịte lōjọ*	black colour
ṅẹ̄dọ	rib;	*ṅẹ̄te jal*	rib of man
lẹch	tooth;	*lẹche lyẹch*	tooth of the elephant
mọgọ	beer;	*mọke fōte wẹn*	beer of our country
bōdọ	artist.	*bōte tọ̄ŋ*	one who makes spears.

These are treated like nouns in the plural.

b) *ch* and *k* may be dropped:

pāch	village;	*pā rịṭ*	village of the king
kẹch, kạch	hunger;	*kẹ jal gạ̄i*	the hunger of this man
dọk	cattle;	*dọ rịṭ*	the cattle of the king.

*193 c) *ch* softens into *y:*

197 *mach* fire; *may kwǫ̈rǫ* "fire of cotton"; see 45.

One word changes its vowel before a genetive:

yǫ way; *yu Fakǫi* the way to F.;

likewise when an adjective follows: *yu toch* a narrow way; see 22.

2. Nouns which have the final vowel ǫ, and whose second consonant is a voiced — in some cases also a voiceless — mute (*gǫ, jǫ, dǫ, ḍǫ, bǫ*), drop, when followed by a genetive, the ǫ, and turn the consonant into the corresponding nasal one: *gǫ* > *ṅ*, *jǫ* > *ń*, *dǫ* > *n*, *ḍǫ* > *ṇ*, *bǫ* > *m*; see 40.

jāgǫ	chief;	*jān fǫ̈tǫ wǫn*	the chief of our country
afǫajǫ	rabbit;	*afǫcá ńal ḍǫ̈n*	the rabbit of the child
tǫdǫ	people;	*tǫn fān gǫi*	the people of this village
ǫ́mǫ̈ḍǫ	a cow;	*ǫ́mǫ̈ṇǫ rǫ̈ṭ*	the cow of the king
tǫbǫ	plate;	*tǫm ńan*	the plate of the girl
mǫtǫ	neck;	*mune ḍǫ̈á*	the neck of the cow.

This nasalization is caused by a nasal consonant, *n*, which is no doubt identical with the demonstrative *n* (vide 138), and has originally the meaning "that": *jāgǫ n pāch* "the chief, (namely) that of the village". There are some examples which show the *n* in existence at the present time: *lāu* cloth, *lān ḍāchǫ* the cloth of the woman; here *n* is preserved, the *u* having dropped before it; *rǫ̈ṭ* king, an older form *rǫ̈ṭǫ*, see 16; *rǫ̈n tǫ̈dǫ* the king of the people; here the *n* is preserved, though the word ends in a consonant; this is generally not the case; it is evident that after a vowel the *n* is easily preserved, *jāgǫ n pāch* offers no difficulty in pronouncing, but in words ending in a consonant the *n* was liable to disappear, the more so, as the consonant was voiceless, and *n* is voiced; thus *ḍǫk n tǫdǫ* > *ḍǫk tǫdǫ*, but *jāgǫ n tǫdǫ* > *jān tǫdǫ*. This *n* has high tone.

[This *n*, originally probably always a demonstrative pronoun and serving to express the genetive relation, exists in a great number of central and eastern Sudan languages. In Di. it effects the same changes as in Shilluk, besides it is found in Nuba, Logonē, Mandara, Todā, and also in Haussa and Ful.]

The ruling noun is a plural.

*193 If the ruling noun is a plural, the *n* does not appear, but when the noun ends in a consonant, the 'helping vowel' is suffixed to it. When the plural ends in *i*, this *i* is generally preserved. A change of tone is to be noted here: while the plural-forming *i* (see 103) and the helping vowel have low tone in those cases where no genetive follows, they receive high tone when standing before a following genetive. *This high tone most probably indicates the lost*

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genetive-forming a, the sound a itself having disappeared, but its tone (see 127) was perserved. — Examples:

pàch	village,	pl.	*mięr;*	*mięrí rìẹ*	villages of the king
wọt	house,	pl.	*wọ̀t;*	*wọ̀tí rìẹ*	houses of the king
yìt	ear.	pl.	*yìt;*	*yìtí kyẹ̀nì*	ears of the horse
mọgọ	beer,	pl.	*mọ̀kì;*	*mọ̀kí fòtè wọn*	beers of our country
ọkọk	blossom,	pl.	*ọ̀kọ̀k;*	*ọ̀kọ̀kí yạt*	the blossoms of the tree
atẹp	bag,	pl.	*ọ̀tẹ̀p;*	*ọ̀tẹ̀pí ŋàte wọ̀tọ̀*	the bags of the traveller
kọch	hunger,	pl.	*kọ̀čì;*	*kọ̀čí fòtè wọn*	the famines of our country
jạgọ	chief,	pl.	*jạ̀k;*	*jạ̀kí fòtè wọn*	the chiefs of our country.

In my materials I find one exception to this rule: *gwòk-gwòk* dog; *gwòkò jal gọi* the dogs of this man; but this may be a misunderstanding.

The Objective Case.

The direct object or accusative follows the verb: *á chàm byẹl* he ate dura. Sometimes the particle *kị* "with" is added: *á chàm kị byẹl* he ate (with) dura.

But when *kà* "and" begins a sentence, the object always precedes the verb: *kà byẹl châm* and dura ate (he).

What in European languages is an indirect or dati·~ object, the Shilluk transforms into a direct object, and what we would call the direct object, is in this case always introduced by *kị;* instead of saying: "he gave money to the child", they say: "he presented the child with money": *a wẹ̀kị ŋal kị ŋọ̀gọ̀.*

But in very many, probably in most cases the direct and indirect object are not expressed at all, the passive voice being used instead, "I saw him" is expressed by "he was seen by me"; "he gave the child milk" by "the child was given milk by him". — On the passive voice see 173.

The Vocative Case

is formed by lengthening the (last) vowel, by raising the tone, and sometimes by adding *i* "you": *ŋàtè* man, *ŋàtẹ̀* o man! *Dàk* a proper name, *Dàgí* o Dak!

THE PRONOUN.

The Personal Pronoun.

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Connected Form, standing before the verb.

This form is generally used as the subject of verbs.

yá I	*yí* thou	*yẹ̀, ẹ (ò)* he
wá, wọ we	*wụ́* you	*gẹ* they.

The forms are often pronounced with a short vowel. *yẹ* and *ẹ* (sometimes *ò*), likewise *wá* and *wọ*, are used promiscuously, but *ẹ*, apparently the younger

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form, is employed more frequently than *yí*; *ɔ̀* is seldom used; in the 3rd person *gɛ̀* also occurs, but it is very rare as a subject. Note that *ɔ̀* and *gɛ̀* have a low tone, but all other personal pronouns have a high tone.

[It is at least remarkable that in two West African Sudan languages the personal pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing. are the same as in Shilluk: Ewe *é* and *wò*, Twi *ɛ* and *ɔ* (In Ewe even the tones are equal to those in Shi.); Ewe makes some distinction in the use of *é* and *wò*, while in Shi. they seem to be employed at will. Gang too has *ɛ* and *ɔ*, apparently without making any distinction between the two.

On the *form of the pronoun* note the following remarks:

The corresponding forms for the singular and the plural seem to have originally the same vowels, only *yí* and *wú* being different. But besides *yí*, *yú* also occurs, and in Nuer the possessive pron. of the 2nd pers. sing. is *du* (*d* is prefixed), so it seems probable that the original vowel was *u*, which was assimilated by the palatal semivowel *y* and thus became *i*. This palatalisation must, however, have taken place at an early period, as neighbouring languages — with the exception just stated — have *i* and *yi* for the 2nd pers. sing. So we get as primitive vowels of the personal pronoun: *á*, *ú*, *ɛ́*, which were differentiated into singular and plural by certain prefixes.

a) Singular.

In all three persons the pronoun begins with *y*, but the 3rd person has a third form, which is not mentioned above: *yɛ́n* (*n* marks the absolute form, see 132, so the form is properly *yɛ́*); *yɛ́* I regard as the older form of *gɛ́* (on the change between *y* and *γ* see 35); in Dinka and Nuer the pronoun of the first person is *γa*, which is likewise the older form for Shilluk *ya*; from this it is probable that the 2nd person also originally began with *γ*, though, as far as I can see, it is nowhere retained. Thus we get these (hypothetical) primitive forms: *γa*, *γu*, *γɛ*; *a*, *u*, *ɛ* designating the persons, and *γ* the singular.

b) Plural.

In plural all persons begin with *w* except *gɛ́*. What is the origin of this *g*? In Nuer the 1st pers. is *kɔ́*, the third *kɛ́n* and *kɛ́ɛ́n*, in Dinka *ke* (probably *kɛ*); *kɔ́* is evidently contracted from *kwa*, see 22; analogous to this *kɛ́* may be derived from *kwɛ* (*kwɛ* > *kɛ* see 32), and the 2nd person, *wú*, would be originally *kwu*, but, as in the singular, here the hypothetical form seems nowhere preserved. So the primitive forms of the plural would be: *kwa*, *kwu*, *kwɛ*; *a*, *u*, *ɛ* again designating the persons and *kw* the plural. (*As* for the prefixing of *k* note that in Dinka the personal pronouns in the absolute form suffix a *kɪ*). — The evolution of *gɛ* in Shi. would then be thus: *kwɛ* > *kyɛ* > *kɛ* > *gɛ*. While in the first and second person the *k* before *w* was dropped (see 46), in the 3rd pers. *kɛ* turned into *gɛ*. The changing of a voiceless into a voiced consonant is not so uncommon in the Eastern Sudan languages, see 42; here the process was facilitated by *gɛ* being a much used word, whose pronunciation may easily be slighted. — Hence perhaps *gɔ̀* "he" may also be explained. It may be formed from the primitive pronoun *ò* "he", by prefixing to it, in analogy with *gɛ́*, a *g*, and to make the analogy perfect, the vowel *ò* was also pronounced wide, that is *ɔ̀*, in accordance with the *ɛ* in *gɛ́*. This is, indeed, a mere hypothesis, but it is supported by the fact that *gɔ̀* and *ò* both have low tone, while all other personal pronouns have high tone.] 193* 197

Absolute Form.

yán I, me — *yín* thou, thee — *ɛ́n*, *yɛ́n* he, him — *gɔ̀* he, him 193*

wón, *wɔ́n* we, us — *wún* you — *gɛ́n* they, them.

These differ from the connected form only by a suffixed *n*; *ɛ́n* and *yɛ́n* are used promiscuously; *gɛ́n* occurs frequently as objective, but seldom as subjective pronoun. The suffixed *n* may be identical with the deictic *n* mentioned in 127 et passim; so that *yán* really means: "it is I".

These absolute or separable pronouns do not stand immediately before a verb, they are used when the person is to be emphasized. They are employed as subjective and objective alike. When they emphasize the subject, the connected form of the pronoun has to follow them: *yán yá chàm* (it was) I (that) ate.

The absolute pronouns may again be emphasized by adding *á*: *yáná*, *yíná*, *ɛ́ná*. This has the meaning of "it is", and is often used in addresses: *ɛ́ná Pàch-ɔdɔ̀* that is Fashoda; *yíná júɔ̀k* "thou art God" "o God".

If a personal pronoun in the singular is connected with another pronoun or noun, the plural form is always used instead of the singular: *wɔ́ kí yín* I and you; *wú kí ŋà* you (sing.) with whom?

Objective Form.

It is suffixed to the verb. Example: stem *chwọl* to call.

Common form.		With more emphasis.
á chwọ̀lá	he called me	*á chwọ̀lá yán* or *yánà*
á chwọ̀lí	he called thee	*á chwọ̀lá yín* or *yínà*
á chwọ̀lɛ̀	he called him	*á chwọ̀lá ɛ́n* or *ɛ́nà*
á chwọ̀lá wɔ́n	he called us	*á chwọ̀lá wɔ́n* or *wɔ́nà*
á chwọ̀lá wún	he called you	*á chwọ̀lá wún* or *wúnà*
á chwọ̀lá gɛ́n	he called them	*á chwọ̀lá gɛ́n* or *gɛ́nà*

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The first á is the sign of the past; in the second form the final *a* of the verb marks the verb as being followed by an object.

Note the change of the tone in the objective form. *The objective form has low tone, whereas the subjective form has high tone.*[1]

Possessive Form.[2]

This form is also always suffixed. Example *wọ̀t* house pl. *wọ̀tị*.

wọ̀dá	my house	*wọ̀dī*	thy house	*wọ̀dẹ́*	his house
wọ̀t wọ́n	our house	*wọ̀t wún*	your house	*wọ̀t gẹ́n*	their house
wọ̀tá	my houses	*wọ̀tí*	thy houses	*wọ̀tẹ́*	his houses
wọ̀tị́ wọ́n	our houses	*wọ̀tị́ wún*	your houses	*wọ̀tị́ gẹ́n*	their houses.
		gwòk pl. *gúòk* dog.			
gwọ́gá	my dog	*gwọ́gī*	thy dog	*gwọ́gẹ́*	his dog
gwòk wọ́n	our dog	*gwòk wún*	your dog	*gwòk gẹ́n*	their dog
gúóká	my dogs	*gúókí*	thy dogs	*gúókẹ́*	his dogs
gúókí wọ́n	our dogs	*gúókí wún*	your dogs	*gúókí gẹ́n*	their dogs.

If the final consonant of the noun is a liquid or nasal, the *w* in *wọn* and *wun* is often ommitted: *kal* ūn your fence; *tyẹ̄n un* your people.

If both the possessor and the thing possessed are a singular, the possessive pronoun has a middle tone, if either of them or both are a plural, the poss. pr. has a high tone.

In the connection of noun and pronoun the rule given in 40 is to be observed, as these examples show:

jāgọ̀ chief, *jāā́* my chief *afoajọ* rabbit, *afoaā́* my rabbit
but in pl.: *jāk* chiefs, *jākā́* my chiefs *afoachị* rabbits, *afoachá* my rabbits.

If the final vowel of the noun is *u*, it turns into *w*; if *u* is the sole stem-vowel, a *w* is inserted: *fyóu* heart, *fyówā* my heart; *sìù* lion, *sìwā* my lion.

In some few cases the possessive pronoun is prefixed by *r*: *ra* my, *ri* thy etc. Before this *r* the final consonant of the noun drops:

sal boy *sāra* my boy *pach* village *pāra* my village, etc.

This *r* is a shortened form of *rí* "body, self."

As the intonation shows certain irregularities in the connection of nouns with possessive pronouns, some more examples may be given.

ówẹ̀ṭ	mat	pl. *ówẹ̀ṭ;*	*ówẹ̀ḍá*	my mat;	*ówẹ̀ṭá*	my mats
yìt	ear	pl. *yìṭ;*	*yídá*	my ear;	*yìtá*	my ears
kọ̀t	rain	pl. *kọ̀ṭi;*	*kọ̀dá*	my raining;	*kọ́tá*	my rainings
lyẹch	elephant	pl. *lìẹ̀ch;*	*lyẹ̀jā*	my eleph.;	*lìẹ̀chá*	my elephants
àtẹ̀p	bag	pl. *àtẹ̀p;*	*àtẹ̀bā*	my bag;	*atẹ̀pá*	my bags
kwọ̀m	chair	pl. *kíọ̀mị;*	*kwọ́mā*	my chair;	*kíọ̀má*	my chairs
rẹ̀jọ	fish	pl. *rẹ́ch;*	*rẹ̀ā*	my fish;	*rẹ́chá*	my fishes

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[1] In Ewe *e*, the pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. has high tone, when subjective, but low tone, when objective; the same is the case in Yoruba: *ó* he, *ò* him; see Crowther page (4) and (8).
[2] The suffixed subjective form see 160.

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yęt	neck	pl.	*yiet;*	*yędà*	my neck;	*yìẹ̀tẹ́ wọ́n*	our necks
kwäch	leopard	pl.	*kwänį;*	*kwäjà*	my leopard;	*kwänà*	my leopards
ŋù	lion	pl.	*ŋuwį;*	*ŋùwà*	my lion;	*ŋùwá*	my lions
rįt	king	pl.	*rör;*	*rädà*	my king;	*rörá*	my kings
òkǫ̈k	blossom	pl.	*òkǫ̈k;*	*òkǫ̈gà*	my flower;	*òkǫ̈ká*	my flowers.

In all personal pronouns the singular is not unfrequently used instead of the plural of the corresponding person.

Sometimes the possessive pronoun *of the 3rd person sing.* is employed instead of the first plural, chiefly in names of relatives: *wūnẹ* "his" *and* "our" grandmother.

The possessive pronoun can also be affixed to an adjective: *wú bi bẹ́nú* (instead *bẹ̈n wu*) have all of you come?

Some much used nouns have shortened forms, when they are connected with possessive pronouns:

wich	*father*	*mä*	*mother*
wíyá	my father	*mäyá*	my mother
wúu	thy father	*mäyí*	thy mother
wọ́n	his father	*mọ́n*	his mother
wą	our father	*mäy wọ́n*	our mother
wiy wun	your father	*mäy wún (mäyu)*	your mother
wiy gẹ́n	their father	*mäy gẹ́n*	their mother
dìàŋ	*cow*	*má*	*mother*
dàŋà	my cow	*máá*	my mother
dë (dèí)	thy cow	*máu*	thy mother
dę	his cow	*mọ́n*	his mother
ǫmà	*brother*	*ńàmí*	*sister*
ǫmíà	my brother	*ńàmíà*	my sister
ǫmíu	thy brother	*ńàmíú*	thy sister
ǫmẹ́n	his brother	*ńàmẹ́n*	his sister
ǫmą	our brother	*ńamí yi wọ́n*	sister
ǫmi wu	your brother	*ńamí yi wún*	sister
ǫmi gẹ́n	their brother	*ńamí yi gẹ́n*	sister.

The *ẹn* in *wẹn*, *ǫm-ẹ́n* etc. is the absolute pronoun *ẹn* he.

re	*body, self*		
rëa	myself	*re yí wọn*	ourselves
rúi	thyself	*re yí wun*	yourselves
rę	himself	*re yí gẹn*	themselves.

In names of relatives the possessive pronoun of the 2nd person sing. (and plural) is generally *u*, *wu:*

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kwäyu your grandfather	*mäyu* your mother	*mīu* your mother.

The Possessive Pronoun as a Substantive.

It is formed by the help of *mé* pl. *mǫk* or *gin* pl. *gik*; *gin* is "thing", *me* probably has a similar meaning.

Singular of the thing possessed:

méá mine	*méí* thine	*mę̄* his
méi (me yi) wǫ́n ours	*méi wún* yours	*méi gę́n* theirs
giná mine	*giní* thine	*ginę́* his
ginè wǫ́n ours	*ginè wún* yours	*ginè gę́n* theirs.

Plural of the thing possessed:

mǫ́ká[1] mine	*mǭ wǫ́n* ours	*gikí wǫ́n* ours	*giká* mine.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

In connecting nouns in the singular with demonstrative pronouns, the rule described in 40 obtains, with the one difference however, that here not only the nouns ending in a vowel change their last (mute) consonant, but also the nouns whose final sound is a mute consonant; accordingly the rule given in 40 is to be enlarged thus: final *gǫ* and *k* > *ŋ*, *jǫ* and *ch* > *ñ*, *dǫ* and *t* > *n*, *ḑǫ* and *ţ* > *ņ*, *bǫ* and *p* > *m*.

These consonant changes, without any further addition, represent the simplest form of the demonstrative pronoun. The changes are no doubt caused by suffixing an *n*, which possesses a demonstrative power. It is employed in nouns ending in a mute consonant or in *gǫ, jǫ, dǫ, ḑǫ, bǫ* only, at least I have not heard it used in others (as for instance in *jal* "man", which would become **jala* or rather *jan*, see 44).

The meaning of this primitive form is *a reference to a person or object just mentioned or just spoken of.* It has somewhat the character of the definite article in English (as in such a sentence: we saw a man walking in the bush; *the man* called to us).

gwǫk dog,	*gwǫŋ* the (identical) dog, the dog just spoken of
jāgǫ chief,	*jāŋ* the chief just mentioned
mach fire,	*mañ* the fire just mentioned, this fire
lęjǫ tooth,	*lęñ* the tooth just spoken of, this tooth
wǫt house,	*wǫn* the house just spoken of, this house
yiep tail,	*yiem* the tail just spoken of, this tail, etc.

tyęñ pāñ the people of this country, from *pājǫ*

tyęñ wǫn the people of this house, from *wǫt*

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[1] *mǭ gá* also is heard.

yìi gwɔ̀cì	the hair of this dog, from *gwɔ̀k*		
yìɛr yaŋ	the leaves of this tree, from *yaṯ*		
kɛ́	place,	*kɛ́n*	this place, here
ḍɔ̀kị	to-morrow,	*ḍɔ̀nì*	this to-morrow, the next day.

Besides these the Shi. has several demonstrative pronouns denoting different distances between the speaker and the person or object spoken of.

Singular: *ɛ̀n* this, *ɛ́ní* that, *ɛ̀chà* that over there.

Plural: *àk*, *ɛ̀n*, *àgàk* those, *ɛ́ní* those, *ɛ̀chà* those over there. *ɛ̀n* and *ɛ́ní* are probably of the same origin; *i* was suffixed to *an*; *a* has become *ɛ* by assimilation to *i*; see 26.[1] Note the difference of tone, the low tone designating the object near by, the high tone that one in some distance.

To mark a great distance, they use *chìnè*; this is pronounced with an exceedingly high tone, and the last vowel may be lengthened at will, according to the greatness of the distance.

Be it noted that according to 138 the changes of the final consonants take place only in singular, never in plural; in the plural the final mute consonants are always to be pronounced voiceless, that is as a real *k*, *ch*, *t*, *ṯ* *p*.

Some examples of nouns connected with demonstrative pronouns (The intonation-marks in my materials are incomplete here).

jāgɔ̀	chief;	*jāɲ ɛ̀n*	this chief,
jāɲ ɛ́ní	that chief,	*jāk*	chiefs;
jāk àk	those chiefs,	*jāk ɛ́ní*	those chiefs,
jāɲ ɛ̀chà	the chief over there	*jāk ɛ̀chà*	the chiefs over there
ájwāgɔ̀	sorcerer;	*ajwɔgɛ ɛn*	this sorcerer
ájwāk	pl.;	*ájwāk àk*	pl.
chwɔ̀k	voice;	*chwɔ̀ŋ ɛ̀n*;	pl. *chwɔ̀k*; *chwɔ̀k àk*
kwàch	leopard;	*kwɔ̀ɲ ɛ̀n*;	pl. *kwàchị*; *kwɔ̀ch àk*
afɔ̀ɲɔ	hare;	*áfɔ̀ɲ ɛ̀n*;	pl. *afɔ̀chị*; *áfɔ̀ch àk*
rɛ̀ṯ	king;	*rɛ̀ṉ ɛ̀n*;	pl. *rɔ̀r*; *rɔ̀r àk*
kɔ̀ṯ	rain;	*kɔ̀ṉ ɛ̀n*;	pl. *kɔ̀ṉ àk*
yìṯ	ear;	*yìṉ ɛ̀n*;	pl. *yìṯ*; *yìṯ àk*
ùṯɔp	bag;	*ùṯɔm ɛ̀n*;	pl. *ùṯɔp*; *ùṯɔp àk*
ḍɔ̀kị	to-morrow,	*ḍɔ̀nɛ chìnè*	the day after to-morrow
ɔ̀wɛ̀ṯ	a mat;	*ɔ̀wɛ̀ṉ ɛ̀n*, *ɔ̀wɛ̀ṉ ɛ́ní*	pl. *ɔ̀wɛ̀ṯ*; *ɔ̀wɛ̀ṯ ɛ́ní*, *ɔ̀wɛ̀ṯ ɛ̀chà*
ɲɔ̀ṯ	people;	*ɲɔ̀ṉ ɛ̀n*.	

The last example, though virtually a plural, is treated as a singular.

Nouns ending in other consonants or in vowels, have no changes:

rɔ̀r kings;	*rɔ̀r àk* those kings	*gìn* thing;	*gìn ɛ̀n* this thing
lɛ̀ɲ war;	*lɛ̀ɲ ɛ̀n* this war	*pì* water;	*pì ɛ̀n* this water.

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[1] It is, however, difficult to distinguish the beginning vowels in *ɛ̀n* and *ɛ́ní*; *ɛ̀n* sometimes sounds *gɛn* or even *gɛ*, and *ɛ́ní* is sometimes heard as *gɛ́ní*.

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The demonstrative pronoun standing for a noun.

mɛ́n ɛ̀n this one *mɛ́k àk* these ones.

Interrogative Pronouns.

They imply the same consonant-changes as the demonstratives Pronouns.

dɛ̂ŋ what, which? pl. *ɟɛ̂ŋ;* on this plural see 124.

ā which?

àmɛ́n (also *ámɛ́n*) who? pl. *àmɛ́k* (*ámɛ́k*).

Examples: Singular.

ogwɔk jackal;	*ā ogwɔgi dɛ̂ŋ*	which jackal is it?
lyɛch elephant;	*ā lyɛ̂t dɛ̂ŋ*	which elephant is it?
wɔt house;	*ā wɔn dɛ̂ŋ*	which house is it?
yaţ tree;	*ā yaŋ dɛ̂ŋ*	which tree is it?
rīţ king;	*ā rɛ̄ŋ dɛ̂ŋ*	which king is it?
aţīp bag;	*ā aţɛm dɛ̂ŋ*	which bag is it?
gīn thing;	*ā gīn dɛ̂ŋ*	which thing is it, what is it?

Plural.

In the plural the final mute consonants are always to be pronounced voiceless, that is as a real *k, ch, t, ţ, p;* see 139.

wɔţį houses;	*ā wɔ̂t ɟɛ̂ŋ*	which houses are they?
rō̄r kings;	*ā rōr ɟɛ̂ŋ*	which kings are they?
yɛn trees;	*ā yɛn ɟɛ̂ŋ*	which trees are they?
ɔ̄gw̄ɔ̄ţį jackals;	*ā ogwɔk ɟɛ̂ŋ*	which jackals are they?
aţīp bags;	*ā aţīp ɟɛ̂ŋ*	which bags are they?
lyɛ̂ch elephants;	*ā lyɛ̂ch ɟɛ̂ŋ*	which elephants are they?
gīk things;	*ā gīk ɟɛ̂ŋ*	which things are they?
	àmɛ́n ā bī	who has come?
	àmɛ́k ā bī	who have come?
	jal amɛ́n	which man?
	jɔ̄k amɛ́k	which men?
	amɛ́n ā á wɔ̄rį yīn?	who (is it that) sent you?
	wá yɛ̂ţį mɛ́nɛ́	whom shall we elect?
	wɔn an ā wɔt mɛ́n	this house is house whose? whose house is [this?
	wɔt ak ā wɔţį mɛ́k	whose houses are these?
	wɔn ā	which house? *rɛ̄ŋ ā* which king?
	ogwɔgi ā	which fox? *ɔ̄gw̄ɔ̄ţį ā* which foxes?

mɛ́n (*amɛ́n*) and probably also *ā* are no original interrogative pronouns, but are demonstratives; see *mɛ́n* in this sense 141; *ā* is probably the deictic element

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"it is", see 196; buth both are in the same time employed as interrogative, and *mẹ́n* even as a relative, see 145; originally it was: "this man!" and then, just as in English: "this man?" likewise: "it is a tree!" and: "it is a tree?" Here not even the position of the words is changed, but only their *tone; just so in Shilluk;* only the changing of tone goes the opposite way, the interrogative tone being low; see 206.

Relative Pronouns.

a) What we express by a relative sentence, the Shilluk generally says in a simple sentence. Instead of saying: "the man who came yesterday, was my father" they say "the man came yesterday, he was my father"; (compare the English "the man I saw" instead of "the man whom I saw").

jal á bì dwà	the man came yesterday, or: the man who came yesterday; *á* is not a relative pronoun, but a particle denoting the past tense;
wọt a gẹ́rè wọ́n	the house (which) was built by us;
ḍean á nẹ́kè yi tẹ́dọ	the cow (which) was killed by the people.

b) In a similar sense *mẹ́n* is employed; *mẹ́n* is "this, this one", see 141, but it serves also in expressing relative sentences:

yá fà dwóttá mẹ́n é lòjò, yá dwóttá mẹ́n à tàr literally: "I do not want this one, it is black, I want this one, it is white" that is: "I do not want the one which is black, I want the one which is white".

mẹ́n may also be employed in a local sense: *e mā̤dọ pi, mẹ́n àn lūm bọggn* he drank water in a place, where there was no grass.

c) A real relative pronoun seems to be *má* who, which:

jal má bi the man who came *kọt má bẹ̄n* the time which comes.

But this has rather the meaning of a participle: the coming time, the man having come. It is frequently used in connection with adjectives, see 149.

The Reflexive Pronoun.

It is formed with the help of *rè* pl. *rẹi* "body".

rìà	my body, that is: myself
rìì	thy body, that is: thyself
rḛ	his body, that is: himself
rḛ̀j wọ́n	our body, that is: ourselves
rḛ̀j wún	your body, that is: yourselves
rḛ̀j gẹ́n	their body, that is: themselves
á nẹ́ka rḛ	he killed himself

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gę́ nęka reį gę́n	they killed themselves.

They say also:

a nęka chwakę	he killed his throat: himself.

"I myself" is expressed in a similar way:

á gwǫ́kè yá kį́ rèà	"it was done, I with my body": I myself did it;
á gwǫ́kè yí kį́ rèì	"it was done, you with your body": you yourself did it;
á gwǫ́kè ę́ kę̀rę̀	he himself did it
á gwǫ́kè wǫ́ kį́ reį wǫ́n	we ourselves did it
á gwǫ́kè wú kį́ reį wún	you yourselves did it
á gwǫ́kè gę́ kį́ reį gę́n	they themselves did it

or with *kę̄te* "alone":

á gwǫ́kè yá kę̄tà	I did it myself
á gwǫ́kè yí kę̄tì	you did it yourself
á gwǫ́kè ę́ kę̄tę̀	he did it himself
á gwǫ́kè wǫ́ kę̄tè wǫ́n	we did it ourselves
á gwǫ́kè wú kę̄tè wún	you did it yourselves
á gwǫ́kè gę́ kę̄tè gę́n	they did it themselves.

This has also the meaning: I did it alone.

And: *yá kį́ chwáká* I with my throat: I myself; *yi kį chwaki* etc.

The Reciprocal Pronoun.

wǫ́ fōta reį wǫ́n	we beat each other
gę́ fōta reį gę́n	they beat each other.

THE ADJECTIVE.

Most adjectives do not distinguish between singular and plural, there are, however, a few which have different forms for both, and, what is very remarkable, the plural always has the ending ǫ, which, in the noun, is the specific ending of the *singular*.

dúǫ́n	pl.	*dǫ̀nǫ̀*	big, great	*tę̄ṇ*	pl.	*tǫ̀nǫ̀*	small, little
chyę̄k	pl.	*chyę̀kǫ̀*	short	*bar*	pl.	*bàrǫ̀, bę̀rǫ̀*	long
rùch	pl.	*rǫ̀chǫ̀*	bad.				

Note that all the plural-forms have low tone, and some, whose vowel in singular is short, have a long vowel, see 110.

Many adjectives have two forms, one denoting the gradual entering of a state, the growing into a state, and the second denoting the accomplished state.

dộṅọ̀	becoming big, growing up;	*dúộṅ*	big, great, grown up
rẹ̀ṅọ̀	acting badly, growing bad;	*ràch*	bad
lẹ̀ṇọ̀	becoming hot, feeling not;	*lẹ̀ṭ*	hot.

When adjectives are connected with nouns, the final consonant of the noun undergoes the changes described in 138.

In this connection, however, the adjective may be prefixed by the relative pronoun *má* (often *mẹ́*) "which", in this case no changes take place; but it is to be noted that *before má the final consonant of the noun is*, contrary to the rule in 107, *to be pronounced voiced,* whereas in all other connections the voice*less* consonant is the characteristic of the plural. This deviation from the common rule is analogous to the fact stated above, that the plural form of the adjective has the ending of the singular of nouns. In order to set forth the difference between the form without *má* and that with *má,* in the following examples the voiced final consonant is written voiced (contrary to the rule 38).

> Note: *má (mẹ́)* has always distinctly high tone. The adjectives with *má* are in their meaning more emphatic than those without *má: dugṅ* large, *madugṅ* very large, large indeed.

wọt house pl. *wọṭị.*	*wọn dúộṅ*	big house	pl. *wọ̀ṭị dộṅọ̀*
	wọd mádúộṅ	big house	pl. *wọd mádộṅọ̀*
yaṭ tree pl. *yẹṇ.*	*yaṇ ṭệṇ*	small tree	pl. *yẹ́ṇ ṭọ̀ṇọ̀*
	yaḍ máṭệṇ	small tree	pl. *yẹ́ṇ máṭọ̀ṇọ̀*
rịṭ king pl. *rôr.*	*rụṇ dộch*	good king	pl. *rôr dộch* [*mádộch*
	rịḍ mádộch	good king	pl. *rôr mádộch,* or
aṭệp bag pl. *aṭệp.*	*àṭệm làch*	broad bag	pl. *àṭệp làchọ̀*
	aṭệb málàch	broad bag	pl. *aṭệb málàchọ̀*
òkọ̀k flower pl. *ọ̀kộk.*	*ọkọṅ kwârọ̀*	red flower	pl. *òkộkị́ kwârọ̀*
	òkọ̀g mákwârọ̀	red flower	pl. *òkộg mákwârọ̀*
lyẹch elephant pl. *lîèch*	*lyẹṅ lọ̀jọ̀*	black elephant	pl. *liechị́ lōjọ*
	lyẹj málọ̀jọ̀	black elephant	pl. *liẹj málọ̀jọ̀*
gwòk dog pl. *gúòk.*	*gwòṅ tàr*	white dog	pl. *guokị̀ tàr*
	gwòg mátâr	white dog	pl. *guóg mátâr*
mọgọ beer pl. *mọkị, mụkị.*	*mọ̀ṅ mẹ̀t*	sweet beer	pl. *mọ̀kị̀ mẹ̀t*
	mọg mámệt	sweet beer	pl. *mọkị mámệt*
yíṭ leaf pl. *yìṭ*	*yiṇ bệl*	bitter leaf	pl. *yiṭi bệl*
	yiḍ mábệl	bitter leaf	pl. *yiṭe mábệl*

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rējọ fish pl. *rech, rechị*	*reń chyẹ̀k*	short fish	pl. *réchị chyẹkọ*
	rej máchyẹ̀k	short fish	pl. *rej machyẹkọ*
yẹṭ neck pl. *yìẹ̀ṭ.*	*yẹṇ bạr*	long neck	pl. *yiẹṭe bạrọ (bẹrọ)*
	yẹḍ mábâr	long neck	pl. *yiẹḍ mábạ̀rọ̀*
lẹ̀jọ̀ tooth pl. *lẹk.*	*lẹń tar*	white tooth	pl. *lẹkị tar*
	lẹj mátâr	white tooth	pl. *lẹg mátâr*
yọ̌ road pl. *yẹ̣̀ṭ.*	*yū toch*	narrow road	pl. *yẹṭe toch*
	yọ matoch	narrow road	pl. *yẹḍ matoch.*

All the connections without *má* may have two meanings, viz. 1st attributive, as they are rendered above: *a big house*, etc.; 2nd *predicative, the house is big* etc., that is, the adjectives have the quality of verbs, and are treated as such, they may be conjugated like any verb; but the adjectives with *má* are only used in an attributive sense.

Comparison.

The means of comparing an object with another are rather scanty, the people not feeling the need of comparison as we do. They simply say: this thing is big, and that one is not big, or: is a little big.

a) The most common way of expressing a higher degree of quality or quantity is to lengthen the vowel, and at the same time to raise the tone.

But generally this is only possible in words which have the high or middle tone, not with the low-toned ones; with these the low tone is so essentially connected that a high tone would be incompatible with them. Examples of adjectives whose tone may be raised, are: *dẹ̆ch* good, *gír* many, *ṭẹ̆ṇ* small, *tóch* narrow.

b) Words with low tone may be intensified in their meaning by still lowering their tone, as for instance *ràch* bad, *dọ̆ṇọ̀* big, *ṅẹ̆ṅọ̀* much, many.

Other means for expressing a higher degree of an adjective are:

c) lengthening of a vowel only: *mẹ̆dọ̀* sweet, *mẹ̄dọ̀* very sweet; *ṅẹ̆ṅọ* many (the first vowel to be lengthened).

d) repetition of the adjective: *ràch* bad, *ràch ràch* very bad. In these repetitions generally the vowel in the second word is long.

e) the word is repeated and the second gets the prefix *ma: dẹ̆ch mádẹ̆ch* "good which is (really) good": very good, exceedingly good.

f) "*rach*" is very much used in this sense; e. g. *ràch kị́ dẹ̆ch* "bad with goodness" that is: exceedingly good; *rach kị́ lạu* "bad with being far": very, very far.

g) by adding *wǫk* "outside": *tę̄ŋ wǫk* "small outside", that is "small beyond anything", very, very small. 193*

h) *chàr, chàrǫ̀* "very" may be added.

i) by *fōdo̧* "to surpass"; this form together with those under k expresses a real comparison: *yę́ dà dǫk máfōdę dǫ̀k pyàrǫ̀* "he has cows surpassing cows ten": he has more than ten cows; *jȅ á tǫ́ù, gę́ fōdǫ́ jȅ ádȩ̀k* "people died, they surpassed people three": more than three people died.

k) *rúnę́ á màl, rúnә́ yà cháŋ* "his years are above, my years are behind": he is older than I;
yá mǫ̀lá bę̄n ę́ tǫ́k "I was first coming he was absent": I came earlier than he; *ba dugn nè yán* (he is) not (so) old as I.

THE NUMERALS.

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Cardinal Numbers.

ákyȩ̀l	1	*áryà̧u*	2	*ádȩ̀k*	3	*áṅwȩ̀n*	4
ábích	5	*ábîkyȩ̀l*	6	*ábîryà̧u*	7	*ábîdȩ̀k*	8
ábîṅwȩ̀n	9	*pyàrǫ̀*	10			*pyàrǫ̀ wíy ákyȩ̀l*	11
		pyàrǫ̀ wíy áryà̧u	12			*pyàrǫ̀ wíy ádȩ̀k*	13
		pyàrǫ̀ wíy áṅwȩ̀n	14			*pyàrǫ̀ wíy ábîch*	15
		pyàrǫ̀ wíy ábîkyȩ̀l	16			*pyàrǫ̀ wíy ábîryà̧u*	17
		pyàrǫ̀ wíy ábídȩ̀k	18			*pyàrǫ̀ wíy ábîṅwȩ̀n*	19
		pyàr áryà̧u	20			*pyàr áryà̧u wíy kį́ ákyȩ̀l*	21
		pyàr áryà̧u wíy kį́ áryà̧u	22			*pyār ádȩ̀k*	30
		pyār áṅwȩ̀n	40			*pyār ábîch*	50
		pyār ábîkyȩ̀l	60			*pyār ábîryà̧u*	70
		pyār ábídȇk	80			*pyār ábîṅwȩ̀n*	90
		pyàr pyàr	100			*pyàr pyàr wíy kį̀ ákyȩ̀l*	101.

Only the numerals from one to five and ten are primitive, all the rest are compositions. The beginning *á* in the names for one to five is secondary, and is probably identical with *á* "it is"; the ordinal numbers do not have it. Mark the mechanical intonation in the numbers from one to four. *pyàrǫ̀* pl. *pyàr* is a substantive; *ábíkyȩ̀l* is of course 5 + 1; *pyāro̧ wíy akyȩl* means "ten, on its head one" i. e. ten, added to it one; this is still more evident in the following forms, which are also used: *pyàrǫ̀ wíję̀ dà ákyȩ̀l* "ten, its head has one", or: *pyàrǫ̀ wíy kį́ ákyȩ̀l* "ten, (its) head with one".

*193 802 The numeral follows the noun: *wọt áryạ̀u* two houses; often *ga* "copy" is inserted between both: *chàn gá pyārọ* ten days.

Ordinal Numbers.

They are rarely used. In forming them the prefix *á* is dropped and the simple stem is used, with the exception of "the first", which is formed from *mal* "above".

àmálọ̀	the first	*ryạ̀u*	the second	*dạ̀k, dẹ̀k*	the third
ǹwọ̀n	the fourth	*bích*	the fifth	*pyārọ*	the tenth.

THE VERB.

*193 The *stem of the verb* is uniform. It always consists in a consonant, a vowel, and a consonant, or a consonant, a semivowel, a vowel, and a consonant. But the sounds of the stem may undergo certain changes, on which see 187.

Conjugation of the Verb.

The verb has two principal modes or tenses:

1. The Present Tense. This denotes an action as going on, as being done just now, as one not yet finished. This action may be going on in the present as well as in the past or future; the emphasis does *not* lie *on the time*, but on the fact that the action is *not finished*, but is being done, it "has not become", but "is becoming".

   Generally the Present in Shilluk corresponds to the English Present, but it may also describe the Past or the Future: "I am going", "I was going", "I shall be going".

2 The Perfect denotes the action as complete, it describes that which "has become", a state, an accomplished fact. While the Present means: "he is going" the Perfect is: "he is gone", "he is away".

*193 197 [These same two tenses with exactly the same meanings are found in the Semitic languages, they are there called Imperfect and Perfect. I have retained the name "Present" because it is introduced already, and a new term might lead to confusion. In these two forms there is another conformity between Shilluk and Semitic languages: in Hebrew the verb in the Imperfect (= Shilluk Present) is always preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun follows the verb; in Shilluk the verb

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in the Present (= Hebrew Imperfect) is preceded by the subject, in the Perfect the subjective pronoun or noun may precede *or follow* the verb. In Nama (Hottentott) and Fulfulde, two Hamitic languages, the subject may also precede *or* follow the verb.]

Besides these two the verb has the following modes:

3. The Future;
4. The Habitual; it denotes action which is done repeatedly, usually, habitually, either in the Present or in the Past.
5. The Imperative.
6. The Verbal Noun; is a real noun, corresponding to the English "going", "eating".
7. The Noun Agent; denotes the doer of the action expressed in the verb. There are two forms, one for expressing an occasional, and the other the habitual doer.
8. The Passive Voice.

Examples showing the conjugation of the verb.

The Verb without an Object.

Stem: *cham* to eat.

Present.

yá chàmọ̀	I am eating	*yí chàmọ̀*	you (s.) are eating
ẹ́ (yẹ́) chàmọ̀	he is eating	*wá chàmọ̀*	we are eating
wú chàmọ̀	you are eating	*gẹ́ chàmọ̀*	they are eating.

The verb in the present always ends in *ọ*; this *ọ* is sounded very faintly, see 2.

Nearly all verbs have in the present exactly the same form: the first vowel is long, and both syllables have a low tone. There are only a few exceptions to this rule, viz.

a) the first vowel may be short; in this case the vowel is often high: *kẹ́dọ̀* to go; but at the same time: *kàdọ̀* to go; *ryẹ̀rọ̀* to come forth.

b) the first vowel, being long, may have the falling tone; in connection with it the second vowel has sometimes middle, but generally low, tone: *gwâtọ̀* to dig, *gôtọ̀* to be vexed. As this is the form and intonation of the infinitive (see 170) these "present forms" may properly be infinitives, these having taken the place of the low-toned present tense.

In most cases the second consonant, if mute, is voiced.

A second form of the present tense is formed by putting *dè* between the subject and the verb:

yá dè chàmọ̀ I am (or was) engaged in eating, I have been eating.

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Perfect.

yá chàm	I ate	*yá kệt̪*	I went
yí chàm	you ate	*yí kệt̪*	you went
á chàm	he ate	*á kệt̪*	he went
wá, wú, gẹ́ chàm	we, you, they ate	*wá, wú gẹ́ kệt̪*	we, you, they went
yá ñệt̪ì	I laughed	*wá ñệt̪ì*	we laughed
yí ñệt̪ì	you laughed	*wú ñệt̪ì*	you laughed
á ñệt̪ì	he laughed	*gẹ́ ñệt̪ì*	they laughed.

Characteristics of the Perfect are:

1. the vowel *á;* appears in the 3rd p. sing. only; the personal pronoun is then dropped.
2. the final vowel ọ is dropped.
3. With a few exceptions the second (mute) consonant, which in most cases is voiced in the Present, becomes voiceless.
4. The Perfect ends either in the second consonant, or the vowel ị is added to the stem.
5. As a rule the tone of the stem-vowel is low; the vowel has, however, not unfrequently a high or falling tone.
6. On vowel- and consonant-changes in the Perfect vide below 182, 187.
7. While in the Present the subject, whether noun or pronoun, always precedes the verb, in the Perfect the subjective noun or pronoun may follow the verb, and very often does so. In this case the tone on both syllables, that is on verb and noun, is high, in the singular; where the suffixed pronoun is a single vowel, the final vowel of the verb, if there is one, is dropped; in the plural a final vowel of the verb is preserved; if the verb ends in a mute consonant, and has no final vowel, the "helping vowel" is sometimes inserted; the same is the case when the subject is a noun beginning in a mute consonant.

This form retains *a*, the sign of the Imperfect, through all persons, *but its tone is low* (contrast-tone, see 59). — The second consonant, if mute, becomes voiced again, except where the helping vowel is inserted.

à rệñá	I ran	*à rệñí*	you ran
à rệñẹ́	he ran	*à rệñì wá*	we ran
à rệñì wú	you ran	*à rệñì gẹ́*	they ran
à nệgá	I killed	*à kệdá*	I went
à chwọ́lí	you called	*à gwệdẹ́*	he wrote.

If the subject is a noun, sometimes the helping vowel is added to the verb, and sometimes not:

à kệt̪ obwoñ	the stranger went;	*à kệt̪ ót̪wọ̌ṇ*	the hyena went;
à gệché rit̪	the king struck;	*à bẹ̄n ñal*	the boy came

but: *ńal ẹ bẹ̄ngọ* the boy is coming *obwoń ẹ kẹdọ* the stranger is going.

Sometimes the subjective noun is placed at the head, the corresponding subjective pronoun following the verb:

ḍāŋ kẹń à ṭọ́wẹ́ a man, when he dies: when a man dies.

8. Verbs who have instead of the second consonant a semivowel.
   a) *y*. No *i* is added in the Perfect. The *y* unites with the preceding vowel to a diphthong: *toyọ* to pierce, perfect *toi*.
   b) *w*. Here likewise generally no *i* is added: *ṭọwọ* to die, perfect *ṭọ̀u* (also *ṭọ̀*). *ńgawọ* to trade, perfect *ńgau*, seldom *ńgawị*.

Sometimes the subjective pronoun is employed twice, before and behind the verb; for the last not the suffixed, but the emphatic or the subjective form are used; note the changes of the tone!

yí rè gwòl yìn	why [*re*] are you (so) thin?	*ẹ́ rẹ̀ gwòl ẹ̀n*	why is he (so) thin?
gẹ́ rẹ̀ gwòl gẹ̀n	why are they (so) thin?	*wú rè gwòl ùn*	why are you (pl.) (so) thin?
		yí rè kẹ́ṭ or: *kẹ́ḍí*	why did you go?
ẹ́ rẹ̀ kẹ́ḍẹ́	why did he go?	*wú rè kẹ́ḍùn*	why did you go?
wá bẹ̄n wà	we came	*gẹ́ bẹ̄n gẹ́n*	they came
gẹ́ kẹ́ḍ gẹ́ kẹń	where did they go?	*wú kẹ́ḍ wú kẹń*	where did you go?

If *kā́* "and" introduces a sentence, the subject, if a pronoun, always follows the verb, and the object always precedes the verb.

kā́ kyẹ̀ń gọ̄já	and I struck the horse	*kā́ kyẹ̀ń gọ̄jí*	and you struck the horse.

Future.

The characteristic of the Future is the particle *ụ́*,[1] which is placed before the verb. In most cases the present form of the verb is used, but not unfrequently that of the Perfect as well, but in this last case with a slight changing of tone: if the tone is low in the Perfect, it becomes middle in the Future.

yā́ ụ́ chàmọ̀	I shall eat	*wā́ ụ́ chàmọ̀*	we shall eat
yí ụ́, or yū́ chàmọ̀	you will eat	*wū́ chàmọ̀*	you will eat
ụ́ chàmọ̀	he will eat	*gẹ́ ụ́ chàmọ̀*	they will eat
yā́ ụ́ ńẹ̄ṭị	I shall laugh	*wā́ ụ́ kẹ́ṭ*	we shall go.

As the Present, so too the Future has a second form, with *dè* placed between pronoun and verb: *yā́ ụ́ dè chàmọ̀* I shall eat. There may be (or at least may have been) a difference of meaning between the two forms, but I have found none.

Habitual.

The *Habitual* is formed by putting the auxiliary verb *ńẹ́* "to use to" between subject and the Present form of the verb.

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[1] In Masai the Future is formed by suffixing *u*. Hollis page 59.

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yá ṅí chàmọ̀	I use or used to eat	*gẹ́ ṅí kẹ́ḍọ̀*	they use or used to go
ẹ́ ṅí gwọ̀ḍọ̀	he uses or used to write.		

Imperative.

chàm	eat!	*kẹ́ṭ, kẹ́ḍí*	go!	*bí kẹ́ḍọ̀*	come, (let us) go!
pl. *chàmùn*	eat![1]	pl. *kẹ́ḍûn*	go!	*chàm wà*	let us eat!
kẹ́ṭ wà, kẹ́ḍè wọ̀n	let us go!	*chùní*	be quiet!	pl. *chùnûn*	be quiet.

In the singular *i*, the suffix of the 2^d^ p., may be added or not.

The Verb with a Noun as Object.

Present.

The second vowel receives a middle tone.

yá chàmọ̄ byẹ́l	I am (or was) eating dura.
yá kẹ́ḍọ̄ gạt	I am (or was) going to the river-bank.

Perfect.

If the Perfect ends in *ị*, this *ị* is retained, if it ends in a consonant, an *a*, in some cases *ị*, is added. I am not quite clear as to the tones; "*a*" always seems to have a low tone, "*ị*" has sometimes a middle, sometimes also a low tone.

yá chàmà byẹ́l	I ate dura	*yá lìnị̀ kwọf*	I heard a talk
yá kẹ́ṭà pach	I went home	*yá màṭị (màḍị) pi*	I drank water.

Future.

The final vowel has a middle tone.

yá ú chàmọ̄ byẹ́l	I shall eat dura	*yá ú kẹ́ṭị pach*	I shall go home.

Habitual.

Follows the rules of the Present.

Imperative.

In the 2^nd^ p. sing. almost always *i* is added; the 2^nd^ p. pl. has *u* suffixed instead of *un*.

chàm byẹ́l *chàmí byẹ́l*	eat dura!	pl. *chàmu byẹ́l*	eat dura!
chàm wá byẹ́l	let us eat dura!	*nẹ̀k wá ńarǭjọ*	let us kill a calf!
kẹḍe wá pach	let us go home!	*māḍe wá pi*	let us drink water!

Verbal Noun (Infinitive).

The Verbal Noun occurs in two chief forms:

a) without the final vowel; the stem-vowel has a middle tone;

b) with the final vowel *ọ*; the stem-vowel has a falling, and the final vowel a low tone.

Deviations from this rule do occur, but are not frequent. Sometimes a semivowel occurs. Examples:

yá gọ̀gọ̀	I am working	n. *gwọ̀k*	working

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[1] This *un* is of course the personal pronoun of the second person plural.

yá gwǫ̀dǫ̀	I am writing	n.	*gwę̂t*	writing
yá chwǫ̀tǫ̀	I am calling	n.	*chwǫ̂t*	calling
yá nâgǫ̀	I am killing	n.	*nę̇k*	killing
yá rûmǫ̀	I am thinking	n.	*rûmǫ̀*	thinking
yá tâbǫ̀	I am cheating	n.	*tâbǫ̀*	cheating
yá mâḍǫ̀	I am drinking	n.	*mâţ*	drinking.

In adding a genetive, or an adjective pronoun to the verbal noun, the changes described in 138 occur: *gwę̂n àn* this working.

Noun Agent.

The language distinguishes two kinds of noun agent, one for the person who does something just now or occasionally, the other denoting the habitual doer of the action.

The first is formed by a connection of words which is really a sentence: *ńān e gǭgǫ* "this man is working" (see 83), *ńate* + the demonstrative *n* is connected *with the present tense of the verb;* this means "one who is working just now". In the second form *ńate* without a pronoun is combined *with the verbal noun: ńate gwǫk* "a man of working", a man whose habit or calling it is to work, a workman.

ńān e mǭḍǫ a man drinking just now
ńate mâţ one who drinks habitually, a drinker.

The Passive Voice.

The Shilluk forms a Passive Voice, whose chief characteristic is the high-low (the falling), and in some cases the high tone. It consists merely in the stem, no final vowel being added. The stem-vowel is a little shorter than in the Present and Perfect, it may be described as half-long, but is marked as short in this book. In some cases a semivowel is inserted between the first consonant and the vowel.

Probably the Passive Voice was originally an intransitive form of the verb, *denoting a state:* from *gǭgǫ* to work, *gwǫk* "worked", *á gwǫ̂k* "it is worked"; *châmǫ̀* to eat, *châm* "eaten"; *byęl á châm* the dura is eaten, properly "is an eaten one"; *fòdǫ̀* to beat, *fwôt* "beaten", "a beaten one"; so we can hardly speak of passive tenses, it is rather a mood, an accomplished condition or situation. But nevertheless the form clearly conveys the meaning of a real Passive, which is best shown by the fact that the doer of the action is added to the verb, so its grammatical construction corresponds exactly to that of the Passive in European languages; sometimes, though not frequently, even a Future of the Passive is formed by prefixing *ú*.

The doer of the action may be expressed by a noun, or by a pronoun.

a) by a noun.

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Here always yì "by" is added:

byę̄l a chám yì jál ę̀ní the dura was eaten by this man

ńal á fwöt yì jàgɔ̀ the boy was beaten by the chief.

The original meaning of yì "by" is not known; perhaps it is some deictic pronoun "it is": "he was beaten it is the chief" (who did it); it can be identical with yì "towards".

b) by an absolute pronoun.

The 'helping vowel' is added to the verb. In this case the stem-vowel has a high tone, the 'helping vowel' being low. Perhaps the 'helping vowel' here is the shortened yì.

á chámè yán	it was eaten by me	*á chámè yín*	it was eaten by you
á chámè gę́n	it was eaten by them.		

Sometimes yì is also used here: *á chám yì ę́n* it was eaten by him.

c) by the suffixed pronoun.

Here a very peculiar distinction between singular and plural is made: for both numbers the pronouns of the singular are used, but if the doers are a plurality of persons, the last consonant of the verb becomes voiceless; this is of course only possible in verbs ending in a mute consonant; in the rest no distinction is made; but if a distinction seems necessary here, the plural of the pronoun may be employed.

á gwǫ́gà	it was worked by me,	*á gwǫ́kà*	it was worked by us
á kwǫ́bà	it was spoken by me,	*á kwǫ́pà*	it was spoken by us
á máḓà	it was drunk by me,	*á máṭà*	it was drunk by us
á gwǫ́ḓì	it was written by you sing.,	*á gwǫ́ṭì*	it was written by you, pl.
á lę́ḓę̀	it was seen by him,	*á lę́ṭę̀*	it was seen by them.

[The verbs following in their intonation the rule demonstrated here, are in the majority; but besides them some examples have been written down by me which deviate in their tones:

á chwǫ̀là	he was called by me,	*á lwǫ̀gà*	it was washed by me,
á ńọ̀ḓá	it was cut by me,	*á lìńá*	it was heard by me,
á nágá	it was killed by me.		

But these are possibly misunderstandings.]

Most foreigners have considerable difficulties in distinguishing the active voice from the passive, the difference between both lying in most cases solely in the intonation. Misunderstandings are easily possible, where the imperfect (active) has a high tone, as *yǫ́tǫ̀* to find. — The natives generally prefer to speak in the passive voice; therefore the foreigner can best avoid misunderstandings by using the passive voice as much as possible and by supposing that what a native tells him, to be passive, and not active.

The chief characteristics of the passive have been given above; the following examples may serve to illustrate the difference in sounds and intonation between active and passive:

yá gộchà jal an	I beat this man
yá gọ́ch yi jal an	I was beaten by this man
yá gộchà yín	I beat you
yá gọ́chò yín	I was beaten by you
yá chàmà ŋàtè	I cheated somebody
yá chám yi ŋàtè	I was cheated by somebody
á chàmà yán	he cheated me
á chámò yán	he was cheated by me
yá chàmạ̀ ę́n	I cheated him
yá chámò ę́n or yi ę́n	I was cheated by him
á chwọ̀là nal	he called the child
á chwọ́l yi nal	he was called by the child.

Doubling of a Verb.

In order to intensify the meaning of a verb, it can be doubled; examples for this have been given in 75; a particular kind of doubling a verb is this: the verb is pronounced twice, the first being high toned on its first syllable, the second being low toned on both syllables:

yá chámọ̀ chàmọ̀	I shall surely eat;
yí nằgà nằgọ̀	I shall surely kill you;
yí chámò chàmọ̀	you will by all means be eaten.

Different tones has: *á dǫ́yi dǫ̀yǫ́* it increased gradually, by and by. Mark the long vowel in the second verb.

Change of Sounds in Verbs.

Many verbs undergo certain changes of sounds in their conjugation, these have not been treated in the preceding pages.

The changes may be classified thus:

a) changes in the second consonant.
b) changes in the stem-vowel.
c) changes in the semivowel preceding the stem-vowel.

a) Changes in the second consonant.

The second consonant, if mute, may change in the perfect, passive and verbal noun. Not all mute consonants change, and in some the *form* with a changed consonant is employed besides the unchanged form, both having exactly the same meaning. There is no rule to show when the second consonant does change, and when not.

3: Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 .F323 Shilluk F323

A List of Verbs in their different Forms.

English	Present	Perfect	Future	Passive	Imperative	Verbal Noun	Noun Agent
tell lies	á fwödö	fwö, fyeṅ	á fwödö	—	yi kiŋ fwö	fyeṅ, fyeṅ on	dåno e fwödö dåne fyeṅ
beat beat the horse	yá fåtö á fåtö ågyeṅ	yá fåt á fåtå k.	á fåtö á fåtå k. á fåtö k.	fwåt	fåt, fåtån fåt k.	fåtö fåtå k.	dåno e fåt
hoe, till hoe the field	fårö fårö fwodo	får fårö f.	á fårö á fårö f.	får	får, fåron får f.	får	dåno e fåri dåne får
build build a house	gérö gérö wot	gér gére wot	á gérö á gérö wot	gér, gyér gér wot	gér, géron	gyér, gyer on	dåno e gérö dåne gyer
write write a book	gwåḍö gwåḍö wåṅ	gwåt gwåḍi w.	á gwåḍö á gwåḍö w.	gwåt	gwåt, gwåḍön gwåḍi w. gwåḍo w.	gwåt gwåḍi w.	dåno e gwåḍö dåne gwåt
work	gégö	gék	á gégö	gwék	gék, gwék gégón	gwék gwék on	dåno e gégö dåne gwék
go	kåḍö	kåḍ, kåt	á kåt	—	kåt, kåḍön	kåḍö, kåḍ on	dåno kåḍö
speak speak a word	kåbö kåmö kwåp	kåp kåmå k.	á kåbö á kåmo k.	kwåp	kåp, kåbön	kwåp, kwåpon on	dåno kåbö dåne kwåp
hear hear a talk	liṅö liṅö kwåp	liṅ, liṅå k. liṅi k.	á liṅö á liṅö k.	liṅ liṅi k.	liṅ, liṅön	liṅö	dåno e liṅö dåne liṅö
see see a bird	nèn, nèno nèno winy	nèn, nèn nèné w.	á nèn á nèn w.	nèn	nèn, nènon nèni w. nèno w.	nèn, nèn on	dåno e nèn dåne nèn
wash wash a cloth	lågö lågö lau	lågi lwåkå lau	á lågö á lågö l.	lwåk	lwåk lågón lwåk l.	lwåk lwågå on	dåno e lågo dåne lwåk
drink drink water	måḍö måḍö pi	måt måḍi pi måḍå pi	á måḍö á måḍö pi	måt (not måt!)	måt, måḍön måḍi pi måḍo pi	måt	dåno e måḍö dåne måt
give give money	míjö, míjö míjö åyyé	mij mijå á. mijå á.	á míjö á míjö á míjö á.	mij, míjö	míjö, mij, wany á., mij á. mijo á.	míjö, míjö míjö on	dåno e míjö dåne míjö

Continued.

English	Present	Perfect	Future	Passive	Imperative	Verbal Noun	Noun Agent
kill kill a sheep	*nâgò* *nâgò dyęl*	*nękį* *nękà d.* *nękį d.*	*ú nękį* *ú nękį d.*	*nęk*	*nęk* *nágûn* *nęk d. nágu d*	*nęk* *ńęn àn*	*ńān e nâgò* *ńate nęk*
sleep	*nę́nò*	*nę̄n*	*ú nę́nį*	—	*nęni* *nę̄nun*	*nę́nò*	*ńān nān*
laugh	*ńę̄ṭò*	*ńę̄ṭį*	*ú ńę̄ṭį*	—	*ńę̄ṭi, ńę̄ṭûn*	*ńę̄ṭò, ńyęṭo* *ńyęr àn*	*ńān a ńę̄ṭò*
hew	*ńùdò* *ńùdò yaṭ*	*ńūt* *ńudį y.* *ńgta y.*	*ú ńùdò* *ú ńùdò y.*	*ńǫt, ńǫl*	*ńùdi, ńudun* *ńgti y.* *ńgtu y.*	*ńǫt* *ńgn an*	*ńān e ńudǫ* *ńate ńǫt*
eat eat dura	*châmò* *châmò byél*	*châm* *chàmį b.* *chàmà b.*	*ú châmò* *ú châmò b.*	*chám*	*châm* *châmun* *châmi b.* *châmu b.*	*châm*	*ńān a châmò* *ńate châm*
call call a child	*chwǫ̀tò* *chwǫ̀tò ń.*	*chwǭtį* *chwǭtį ń.* *chwǭlà ń.*	*ú chwǭtį ń.*	*chwǫ́l*	*chwǭti* *chwǭtun*	*chwǫ́t*	*ńān e chwǫ̀tò* *ńate chwǫ́t*
run	*rìnò*	*rę́n*	*ú rę́nį*	—	*rę́ni, rę́nûn*	*rę́nò*	*ńān a rę́nò*
buy	*ńę̀dwò*	*ńę́dù*	*ú ńę̀dwò*	*ńę́dù*	*ńę̄du* *ńę̄dwun*	*ńę̄du*	*ńān e ńę̄du*
bring, carry bring a tree	*ṭę̄dò* *ṭę̄dò yaṭ*	*ṭę̄t* *ṭęru y.*	*ú ṭę̄dò* *ú ṭę̄dò y.*	*ṭę́r, tyę́r*	*ṭę́r, ṭęrù*	*ṭę́r*	*ńān e ṭę̄dò* *ńate ṭę́r*
play	*tûgò*	*tûk*	*ú tûk*	—	*tûkù*	*tûgò, tûn àn*	*ńān e tûk*
search search a cow	*yâbò* *yâbò ḑean*	*yâp* *yáfà ḑ.*	*ú yâbò* *ú yâbò ḑ.*	*yáf*	*yáf, yâbûn* *yáf ḑ.*	*yâbò,* *yâm àn*	*ńān e yâbò*
sweep sweep a house	*yę̀jò* *yę̀jò wǫt*	*yéch* *yéchà wǫt*	*ú yę̀jò* *ú yę̀jò wǫt*	*yéch.*	*yéch, yę̀jûn* *yęy wǫt*	*yéch, yén àn*	*ńān e yę̀jò* *ńate yéch*
find find a thing	*yǭtò, yìtò* *yǭtò gin*	*yìtį (g.)* *yǭtà g.*	*ú yǭtò (g.)* *ú yìtį (g.)*	*yǭt, ywǭt*		*yǭdò* *yǭn an*	*ńān e yìtò*

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Present	Imperfect	Passive	Verbal Noun
t, d > l			
bɔ̄tɔ to throw	*á bɔ̄lɔ gin*	*bɔ̄l*	
bʌdɔ to roast	*á bʌt, or á bʌl*	*bʌl*	
chudɔ to compensate	*á chʌt, á chʌl*		*chʌl(ɔ)*
chwɔtɔ to call	*á chwɔtɔ,*[1] *á chwɔlɔ*	*chwɔ̄l*	
dīdɔ to brew	*á dwɔlɔ*	*dwɔ̄l*	*dwɔ̄l*
gīdɔ to scratch	*á gīlɔ*	*gīl*	*gīl*
kēdɔ to bring	*á kēdɔ*	*kēl*	
kwɔdɔ to pull out	*á kwɔlɔ*	*kɔ̄l*	*kɔ̄l*
kwɔ̄tɔ to steal	*kwɔtɔ, kwɔ̄lɔ*	*kwɔ̄l*	
kwɔtɔ to drive	*kwɔtɔ, kwɔlɔ*	*kɔ̄l*	*kɔ̄l*
līdɔ to shave		*lyɛ̄l*	
mwɔtɔ to touch	*mwɔtɔ*	*mwɔ̄l*	*mwɔ̄l(ɔ)*
ŋɔ̄dɔ to cut	*ŋɔ̄t*	*ŋɔ̄l*	
ŋɔ̄dɔ to cut	*ŋɔ̄t, ŋɔ̄l*	*ŋɔ̄l*	
wɔ̄dɔ to pound	*wɔ̄lɔ*	*wɔ̄l*	*wɔ̄l*
yɔ̄dɔ to save		*yɔ̄l*	
t, d > r			
tyɛtɔ to carry	*tyɛtɔ, tīrɔ*	*tīr*	
t, d > n			
yɛtɔ to curse	*yɛnɔ*		*yɛ̄n*
ṭ, ḍ > l			
ṭēḍɔ to cook	*ṭēlɔ*	*ṭēl*	
wēḍɔ to change	*wēlɔ*	*wēl*	*wēl*
ṭ, ḍ > r			
ḍēḍɔ to laugh	*ḍēṭɔ*		*ḍyɛ̄r(ɔ)*
yēḍɔ to cut	*yēṭɔ, yēro*	*yēṭ, yēr*	
ṭ, ḍ > ŋ			
dwɔḍɔ to be weak	*dwɔŋ*		
ḍ > m			
ŋēḍɔ to be cold	*ŋēm*		*ŋēḍɔ*
ŋēḍɔ to speak	*ŋēmɔ kwɔp*	*kwɔ̄p*	*kwɔ̄p*

In these words the forms with a mute consonant are doubtlessly primitive; from them the present tense was formed by suffixing *ɔ*, so the primitive mute consonant is preserved here in the present; in a later period the mutes were, by different influences, transformed; the primary cause of their transformation was perhaps their position at the end of a word. See note in 46 concerning *t ṭ > r*.

In frequent cases, however, the consonant was also changed in the present tense; but in these cases the unchanged form of the present also exists beside the changed one; thus many verbs have two present (and perfect) tenses,

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[1] In the forms ending in *ɔ* a noun as object is to follow.

different in their form, but uniform in their meaning; sometimes not only the second consonants, but also the vowels of two forms differ, the vowel of the changed form always being identical with that form of the primitive verb which has the changed consonant, so that one can say: *from the changed form of the primitive verb a new verb has been formed;* an example will illustrate what is meant: Present *chwɔtɔ* to call, past *chwɔlɔ, chwɔlɔ,* or *chwɔl,* passive *chwɔl;* now from the form *chwɔl* the present of a new verb is formed: *chwɔlɔ* to call, past *chwɔlɔ,* passive *chwɔl.*

Double forms in which the second verb is derived from a tense or mood of the first:

chudo to compensate	perf. *chʊt* and *chʊl*		n. *chʊl*
chʊlɔ to compensate	perf. *chʊl*		n. *chʊlɔ*
dɪdɔ to brew	perf. *dwɔlɔ*	pa. *dwɔl*	n. *dwɔl*
dwɔlɔ to brew	perf. *dwɔlɔ*	pa. *dwɔl*	
gɛrɔ to build	perf. *gɛrɔ*	pa. *gyɛr*	
gyɛrɔ to build	perf. *gyɛrɔ*	pa. *gyɛr*	
kɔdɔ to bring	perf. *kɔdɔ, kɔl*	pa. *kɔl*	
kɔlɔ to bring	perf. *kɔl*		
kudɔ to pull out	perf. *kɔlɔ*	pa. *kɔl*	n. *kɔl*
kɔlɔ to pull out	perf. *kɔlɔ*		
kwɛdɔ to steal	perf. *kwɛtɔ, kwɛlɔ*	pa. *kwɛl*	
kwɛlɔ to steal	perf. *kwɛlɔ*		
lɪdɔ to shave		pa. *lyɛl*	
lyɛlɔ to shave			
ŋwɛdɔ to touch	perf. *ŋwɛtɔ*	pa. *ŋwɛl*	
ŋwɛlɔ to touch	perf. *ŋwɛlɔ*		
ɲɔdɔ to butcher	perf. *ɲɔt*	pa. *ɲɔt, ɲɔl*	
ɲɔlɔ to butcher	perf. *ɲɔl*		
wɛdɔ to pound	perf. *wɛlɔ*	pa. *wɛl*	
wɛlɔ to pound	perf. *wɛlɔ.*		

Some verbs have double forms in which the derivation of the second verb from a tense or mode of the first is not visible, both verbs retaining their second consonant unchanged through all tenses and modes. The meanings of the two verbs are in most cases identical, but in some there is a difference.

dɔgɔ and *dɔŋɔ*	to move into
lɔgɔ and *lɔkɔ*	to turn
dwɔtɔ and *dwɔrɔ*	to search, want, wish
ŋwɛdɔ lɛp	to "wink" with the lips, and *ŋwɛlɔ* to wink
fudɔ and *fugɔ*	to pull out

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kọdọ and *kọnọ* to blow up a fire
fịdọ to pass and *fịnọ* to pass
dyọdọ to milk and *dọnọ* to let the milk down.

Those verbs which are virtually adjectives (see 150), have some peculiarities. Example: *rach* "(to be) bad"; this form corresponds in its sounds and its meaning to the Perfect of the common verbs: it ends in a mute consonant, and it designates a state, not an action; this form as such does not change the final consonant; a regular present may be formed from it (though not from all verbs of this kind): *rajọ* "to become bad, act badly"; but besides this regular form of the present it has a second, in which the second consonant turns into the corresponding nasal one: *rạnyọ* "to become bad, act badly".

nọk	little	*nọngọ*	to become little or few
tek	hard	*tęgọ* and *tęngọ*	to become hard, feel hard
dọch	good	*dọjọ* and *dọnyọ*	to become good, act well
kọch	strong	*kọnyọ*	to become or be strong
rach	bad	*rajọ* and *rạnyọ*	to become or be bad, act badly.

In one case, however, such a word has the nasal consonant in the adjective (perfect) form already:

dọngọ	big	*dọngọ*	to become big, grow up; here a form with a mute consonant does not exist.

b) Changes in the Stem-vowel.

Here the very same process as in the change of consonants is to be observed. Present *a* > *ę* in perf. and passive.

kạdọ	to bring		pa. *kẹt*	
kạgọ	to boil		pa. *kẹk*	
fạdọ	to be tired		pa. *fẹt*	
fạnọ	to ride	perf. *a fạni* and *a fẹni*		
kạlọ	to take by force			n. *kẹnọ*
kạdọ	to twist	perf. *kẹt*, *kẹl*		
kạgọ	to ache			n. *kẹk*
kạgọ	to plant	perf. *kẹk*		
nạgọ	to kill	perf. *nẹk*		
kajọ and *kạjọ*	to tie		pa. *kẹch* and *kẹch*	
dạnọ and *dạgọ*	to scatter	perf. *dẹk*.		

Present *ę* > *a* in imp. and passive.

chẹbọ	to mix	perf. *chepo*	pa. *chạp* and *chạp*	
fẹgọ	to be sharp	perf. *fẹk*		
kẹlọ	to take by force	perf. *kepo*	pa. *kạp*	n. *kẹpọ*.

lạgọ	to inherit	perf. *laka*	pe. *lák*	n. *lák.*

Present *a* > *ẹ* in perf. and passive.

bājọ	to tie	perf. *bẹcha*	pe. *bẹ́ch*	
gwāṅọ	to tie	perf. *gwẹṅi*		
gwārọ	to snatch			n. *gwẹrọ* and *gwẹrọ*

Present *i* > *e:*

wīlọ	to change	perf. *wēla.*		

Changes between *ọ*, *o* and *u*.

tugọ	to crush			n. *tọ̀k*
lūgọ	to turn	perf. *lọgi*		n. *lọ̀k*
kudọ	to pull out	perf. *kọla*	pe. *kọ́l*	n. *kọ̀l*
nōṅọ	to become little,	*nọk* little		
kōdọ̀	to fasten			n. *kūdọ̀*
chudọ	to compensate	perf. *chôl.*		

Double forms with different vowels; the second verb is derived from a tense or mood of the first:

chudọ	to compensate	perf. *chôl*		
chōlọ	to compensate	perf. *chôl*		
fūdọ	to be tired	perf. *fệt*		
fẹdọ and *fīdọ*	to be tired	perf. *fệt*		
fēdọ	to raise			n. *fīdọ̀*
fīdọ	to raise			
kọbọ	to take by force			n. *kẹ̀pọ̀*
kẹpọ	to take by force			
kọdọ	to twist	perf. *kệt*		
kẹdọ	to twist			
kọgọ	to plant		pe. *kệk*	
kẹgọ	to plant			
kudọ	to pull out	perf. *kọla*	pe. *kọ́l*	
kōlọ	to pull out.			

Double forms in which the derivation of the second verb from a tense or mode of the first is not visible, both verbs retaining their vowel unchanged through all tenses and modes. The meaning of the two verbs is in most cases identical, but in some there is a difference:

dọgọ and *dēgọ* to move into	*dwọṅọ*, *dwọṅọ* and *dwẹṅọ* } to evaporate
dwatọ and *dwotọ* to want, wish	
gọrọ and *gụrọ* to tattoo	*gwaṅọ* and *gwọṅọ* to scratch
kādọ and *kẹdọ* to go	*mōtọ* and *mītọ* to hold fast
ṅāyọ and *ṅēyọ* to know, recognise	*ṅādọ* to butcher, *ṅūdọ* to cut

pǭńo and *pękǫ* to fill *kwālǫ* and *kwętǫ* to steal.

c) Changes in the Semivowel.[1]

The Semivowels *w* or *y* are inserted in the stem in order to form certain tenses or modes of the verb.

dǭdǫ to brew beer	perf. *dwǫla*	pe. *dwǫ̂l*	n. *dwǫ̀l*
fǭjǫ to make butter		pe. *fwóch*	
gǭgǫ to work		pe. *gwǫ̂k*	
gǭńǫ to scratch	perf. *gwǫ́ńa*.		n. *gwǫ̂ńǫ̀*
kǭgǫ to stick		pe. *kwǫ̂k*	
kǭtǫ to drive	perf. *kwǫtį*, *kwǫla*	pe. *kǫ̂l*, *kwǫ̂l*	
kǭbǫ to speak		pe. *kwǫ̂p*	n. *kwǫ̀p*
lǭdǫ to wade	perf. *lwǫ̂t*	pe. *lwǫ̂t*	
lǭgǫ to wash [forth	perf. *lǫgi*, *lwǫka*	pe. *lwǫ̂k*	
ńōdǫ̀ to bear, bring	perf. *ńôt*, *ńwǫ̀l*	pe. *ńwǫ̂l*	n. *ńwôdǫ̀*
ńǭmǫ to marry	perf. *ńǭmį*	pe. *ńwǫ́m*	
ńotǫ to spit	perf. *ńwotį*		
rǭmǫ to fetch water	perf. *rwǫma*	pe. *rwǫ́m*	n. *rwǫ̀m*
tōdǫ to tell lies	perf. *twota*	pe. *twót*	n. *twôt*
yǭbǫ to bewitch	perf. *ywǫba*	pe. *ywǫ̂p*	
bǭkǫ to fear,	*bwǭkǫ* to make one fear, to frighten		
ḍǭdǫ̀ to suck,	*ḍwǫ́dǫ̀* to suckle a child		
dǭgǫ to go back	*dwǭgǫ* to come back		
fęchǫ to ask	perf. *fęcha*	pe. *fyêch*	
fę̄dǫ to lie	perf. *fęt*	pe. *fyę̂t*	n. *fyę̀t*
fę̄mǫ to gainsay			n. *fyę̀m*
gę̄rǫ to build	perf. *gę̄ra*	pe. *gyę̂r*	
gę̄ṯǫ to sacrifice	perf. *gyęṯa*	pe. *gíę̂ṯ*	
kę̄rǫ to dig out		pe. *kyę̂r*	
lę̄dǫ to shave	perf. *lę̄l*	pe. *lyę̂l*	
mę̄nǫ to twist	perf. *myęn*	pe. *myę́n*	
ńę̄ṯǫ to laugh [guest	perf. *ńę̄ṯi*		n. *ńyę̀rǫ̀*
ręjǫ to receive a	perf. *recha*	pe. *ryêch*	
ṯęńǫ to strain beer	perf. *tyęńà*	pe. *tyę̂ń*	n. *tyę̀ń*
ṯę̄dǫ to bewitch	perf. *ṯyę̂ṯ*		n. *ṯyę̂ṯ*
ńę̄rǫ to milk	*ńyę̄dǫ* to let the milk down.		

In these examples the infixed semivowel has a function analogous to that of the changing of the second consonant and of the vowel: it is a means of forming tenses and modes of the verb; in most cases the passive, and in some also the imperfect and infinitive differ from the present by the infixed semi-

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[1] Only the semivowels standing between the first consonant and the stem-vowel are meant here, not those beginning a word.

vowel. In a few examples — *bwǭkǫ, ḓwǭḓǫ, dwǭgǫ, ńyę̄ḓǫ,* — a *causative* form (or a form of similar meaning) is formed from the common form by infixing a semivowel.

Double forms, the one with a semivowel, the other without it; the one verb is derived from a tense or mood of the other:

dǭdǫ	to brew beer	perf. *dwǫla*	pe. *dwǫ́l*	*n. dwǫ̀l*
dwǭlǫ	to brew beer	perf. *dwǫla*		
jōjǫ	to make butter		pe. *fwóch*	
fwōjǫ	to make butter		pe. *fwóch*	
gǭńǫ̀	to scratch	perf. *gwǭńa*		*n. gwǫ́ńǫ̀*
gwǭńǫ̀	to scratch			
kōńǫ	to help	perf. *kwōńa*		
kwōńǫ	to help			
kǭtǫ	to drive	perf. *kwǫti̧, kwǫla*		
kwǭto	to drive			
lǭdǫ	to wade	perf. *lwǫ̂t*	pe. *lwǫ̂t*	*n. lwǫ̀tǫ̀*
lwǫtǫ	to wade			
lǭgǫ	to wash	perf. *lwǫka*	pe. *lwǫ̂k*	
lwǭgǫ	to wash	perf. *lwǫka*		
ńŏdǫ̀	to bear, bring forth	perf. *ńŏt, ńwǫ̀l*	pe. *ńwǫ́l*	*n. ńwŏdǫ̀*
ńwǭlǫ	to bear, bring forth	perf. *ńwǫ̀l*		
ńǭmǫ	to marry	perf. *ńǭmi̧*	pe. *ńwǫ́m*	
ńwǭmǫ	to marry	perf. *ńwǭmi̧*	pe. *ńwǫ́m*	
ńotǫ	to spit	perf. *ńota, ńwota*	pe. *ńól*	
ńwotǫ	to spit	perf. *ńwota*	pe. *ńól*	
yǭbǫ	to bewitch	perf. *ywǫba*	pe. *ywǫ̂p*	
ywǫbǫ	to bewitch	perf. *ywǫba*	pe. *ywǫ̂p*	
fę̄chǫ	to ask	perf. *fęcha*	pe. *fyę̂ch*	
fyęchǫ	to ask	perf. *fyęcha*	pe. *fyę̂ch*	
fę̄dǫ	to lie	perf. *fę̂t, fyę̂t*		*n. fyę̀t*
fyę̄dǫ	to lie	perf. *fyę̂t*		*n. fyę̀t*
gę̄tǫ	to sacrifice	perf. *gyęta*		*n. gíę̂t*
gíę̀dǫ̀	to sacrifice			
kę̄rǫ	to dig out		pe. *kyę̂r*	
kyę̄rǫ	to dig out	perf. *kyęra*	pe. *kyę̂r*	*n. kyę̀rǫ̀*
mę̄nǫ	to twist	perf. *myęn*	pe. *myę̂n*	
myę̄nǫ	to twist			
rejǫ	to receive a guest	perf. *recha*	pe. *ryêch*	
ryejǫ	to receivea guest	perf. *ryecha*		

+193 { *ṯẹ̄ḏọ* to bewitch perf. *ṯyệṯ* pe. *ṯyệṯ*
ṯyẹ̄ḏọ to bewitch.

Double forms in which the derivation of the second verb from a tense or mode of the first is not visible, both verbs retaining their vowel or semivowel unchanged through all tenses or modes. The meanings of the two verbs are identical:

bọ̄ḏọ and *bwọ̄ḏọ* to cast iron
kōḏọ and *kwōḏọ* to blow up fire
fẹ̄jọ and *fyẹjọ* to pull.

The function of the inserted semivowels *w* and *y* are evident from the preceding examples: they serve in forming certain tenses or modes of the verb, and from these modes and tenses new verbs are formed, just as in the changing of the last consonant.

In by far the most cases the infixed *w* (which must originally have been *u*, see 22) forms the Passive and the Perfect of the Verb.

[197] [It is remarkable that in Hamitic languages *u* or *o* have the same function:

Haussa:	*fashe*	to break	*fasu*	broken
	būde	to open	*būdu*	open
	buga	to beat	*bugu*	beaten
Ful Fulde:	*omo nana*	he hears	*omo nanọ*	he is heard
	omo wara	he kills	*omo warọ*	he is killed.

In both these languages the forms in *u*, *ọ* correspond to the Shilluk Passive as well as to the Perfect, as they express an accomplished state, as opposed to action.]

It is evident that this last process was chiefly liable to lead to many confusions in the use of *w* and *y (and the same holds good for the changing of the second consonant)*; once the second verbs, derived from the imperfect or passive of the first verb, came into use, it was scarcely avoidable that the semivowel should not enter the present or any other tense of the first verb, where it did not belong; and again it was easily liable to be dropped where it ought to stand, viz. in a form of the second verb; this was the more possible, as in almost all cases the meanings of the two verbs are absolutely identical. And indeed the natives often do confuse the two verbs, using the one for the other, when asked for the different forms of a verb.

How the semivowel was infixed into the verb, is not clear (but see 25); as they do not always have the same function, the way on which they got into the word may also have been different.

Now it is remarkable, that in all cases, where the *passive or past are formed by infixing w or y* (active present *kọ̄bọ* passive *kwộp*, active present *fẹ̄chọ* passive *fyệch*),[1] *w* occurs exclusively before *ǫ*, and *y* exclusively before *ę*, so that we have only these combinations: *wǫ* and *yę*. The combinations *wa*, *wę*, *we*, *wi*, *ya*, *ye* with preceding consonant[2] do also occur frequently, but never in the said function, viz. where the Passive or Perfect are formed from the Present by infixing a *w* or *y*. This leads to the conclusion that there are two different groups of semivowels which have entered the stem, probably at different periods and for different purposes. The second group has in by far the most cases retained the original vowel before *w* and *y*. But the *first group* has in *all cases the same vowel: ǫ* after *w* and *ę* after *y*; this can in my opinion be explained only by assimilation; it is not at all probable that here the original vowels were solely *ǫ* and *ę*, and that always before *ǫ* a *w* was infixed and before *ę* a *y*. I suppose that here originally only *one* semivowel was infixed, viz. *w*, and this *w* partly assimilated the following vowel to itself and partly itself was assimilated to the vowel, in this way: *wa* 〉 *wǫ*, *wǫ* 〉 *wǫ*, *wo* 〉 *wǫ*; *wę* 〉 *yę*, *we* 〉 *yę*. If verbs with the stem-vowel *i* or *u* infixed a *w* in order to form the passive or perfect, this *w* must have been assimilated to the following vowel *i* and *u*, so that *wi* 〉 *yi* 〉 *i*, and *wu* 〉 *u*.

Auxiliary Verbs.

da "to have".

ę̀ dà ṅygṅ he has money; *yấ dà jwǫk* I have sickness: I am sick.

"To be".

"To be" is rendered by different words, but in most cases it is not to be translated at all; all adjectives are treated as verbs, and therefore are not connected with "is": "you are great" is rendered *yi dugṅ*. If the predicate is a noun, and the subject is a pronoun, generally the subject is put before the pronoun without a copula: *yấ rit̨* I am king; *yánó rit̨* I am king; or the demonstrative *ǻ* is employed: *ę́n ǻ rit̨* he is king.

But frequently the particle *bằ* (*fằ*) or its emphatic form *bánę̃*, *bánę́n* is placed between subject and the predicative noun:

ya ba rit̨ I am king; *jal gṅi ba rit̨* this man is king; *fanę̃ rit̨* (this one) he is king.

I suppose *bằ* does not originally mean "to be", but is the negative particle "not", and the sentences in which it is employed, are properly questions: Am I not king? Is this man not king? The negro generally likes to express an assertion by a negative question.

If the predicate is an adverb, *yà*, *yę̀ṅà* ("to be") or *bę̃dǫ̀* ("to stay, remain") are used; *ę́ ya kęṅ* where is he? *gę́ yęṅa mal* they are above; *yấ bę̄dǫ wǫt* I am, stay, in the house. Sometimes *bę̄dǫ* is also employed, when the predicate is a noun.

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[1] This group is called 'first group' in the following.

[2] This group is called 'second group' in the following.

*193

kámá and *chámá* "to be going to, to wish, want"; they are used only in the past form.

e kama (also *kǫmǫ*) *bę̂nò* he is going to come, he says he will come, wants to come.

e chama fūdǫ he is near falling, going to fall; *chama* is often shortened into *cha*.

In a similar sense *dwata* "to wish" is often employed.

"Can"

may be expressed by *yēyǫ: ya ba yēi bēn* I can (could) not come; but its negation is generally expressed by *bų kę́ń* "there is not a place" (an opportunity): *bų kęń à bę̂ná* "there was no place for me to come": I could not come.

The Negation of the Verb.

1. *bȁ, fȁ* not;
2. *nūtí* not yet, not; hardly a distinction is made between the two; both of them negate the indicative of the verb; *a fa kęt, a nūti kęt* he did not go.
3. *fȁt, fȁte* negates a single word: *fate yan* not I; *fate rit* it is not the king; but it may also negate the verb "to be": *fate yan rit* I am not the king; *fate ki wǫt* he is not in the house; *fa jal madugń* he is a great man; *fat ki jal madugń* he is not a great man.
4. *bų, bųńǫ*, to have not, to be not;
5. *bógǫ̀n, bógìn* there is not; *ńyęń bógǫ̀n kį́ yà* "money is not with me": I have no money; *yȁ bų́ ńyęń* I have no money.
6. *tǫ̂k* to be absent; *ńal tǫ̂k* the boy is not here.
7. *kų́* is prohibitive: *kų́ kę̂t, yí kų́ kę̂t* do not go! *kų́ wę̂r*, also: *yi kų wę̂r* do not be angry! The personal pronoun may also be suffixed: *kų kwǫti* do not steal! Plural: *wú kú kę̂t* do not go! You must not go! *kų́ bì* he shall not come.

   Sometimes *kų́* is employed where we do not see a prohibition: *wȁ kų́ kę̂t* shall we not go? But also: *wá fa kęt? ńān kų́ ńwǫ̂l kį́ tǫ̂ń gyęnò, nūgà nūgò* the man who does not lay a hen-egg, I shall surely kill.

ADVERBS.

Most adverbs are originally nouns or verbs.

Adverbs of Place.

The adverbs which are mostly employed are *kęń* and *kūn*; both are nouns and mean "place". Their primitive forms are *kęch, kach* and *kū*, both have affixed a demonstrative *n*, *kęch* + *n* 〉 *kęń*, *kū* + *n* 〉 *kūn* according to 40. They may as adverbs have different meanings: 1. of place: this place, that is: here; 2. then interrogative: where? On the different tones of these two meanings see 205aa. "Where is he" is in Shi. literally: "is he here?" *kẹń* does not really mean "where", but simply "this place".

Bi kẹń come here.

kẹ̄ti wọk kị kẹń go out from here.

kā "place": there.

ẹ bẹ̄da kā he is there;

a lẹ̄tẹ yán kā he was seen by me there.

mal "heaven", "the upper place", serves for "above, ahead":

a rẹ̄ṅa mal he ran upward, upstairs, ahead.

kandọ (from *kā* place) direction: there.

chuṅi kandọ stop there.

chām left hand, *kẹch* right hand, *ànàn* here, *chínẹ̀* there, yonder, *chán* behind, *lẹń* this side.

Adverbs of Time.

Here again *kẹń* "this place" takes the first place, the notion of "time" having its origin in "place"; *kẹń a bi* when he came; *kāṅ* "this time" from *kāke* time: while: *chuṅi kaṅ chām wa* stay while we eat; *tịn* soon, at once; *ànàn, ànàn ànàn* presently, at once, this very moment; *chọn* formerly; *de chaṅ tịn* to-day; *ḍukị* to morrow; *awa* yesterday; *awar awa* the day before yesterday; *kị chaṅ* daily; *kị de chaṅ* at daytime; *kị wọr* at night.

Kẹ́ń á bì when did he come? *ẹ́n awẹ̄n á ṅwọ́lè yin* when were you born? *wọ́ ṅẹ̄nà yě yẹ̄ti chaṅ adẹk, ká è bẹ̄n* we were on the road reached three days, then he came: when we had been on the way three days, he came; *ka duókị wọ́n, chuṅẹ a yiga mámẹ̄t* when we told him that, he became glad; *ká lẹ̄tí wọ́n, ka é ṅẹ̄ẹ̀* when he saw us, he laughed; *ka liṅ wa mẹn an, ka chuṅe wọ́n yiga mámẹ̄t* when we heard that, we became glad.

Adverbs of Manner.

ne, neya thus; *kẹ́ndù* just so; *ádì* how? *ṭyau* also; *chẹt* just, very, surely; *shārẹ* very; *kẹ̄tè, ákyẹ̀l* alone. Much used is the adverb *kịne* thus: it always introduces the direct speech; it does not only follow the verbs which express speaking, but frequently also those expressing "to mean, think, wish, ask":

rịẹ e ko kịne, kẹ̄ṭ	the king said thus: go!
e fẹ̄chọ kịne, ágọ̀n ẹ́n	he asked: where is he?
duoki kine, e bẹ̄nọ	tell him, he may come!
e dwata kịne, wu kẹdọ wu kị ẹn	he wants to go with you
ya dwata kịne, wọ chām byẹ̄l	I wish that we may eat dura.

Frequently an English adverb is in Shilluk rendered by a verb, e. g.:

jwān kẹdọ	hurry going, that is: go quickly;
a rūmị chámè yá	it is finished was eaten by me: I have already eaten;

kẹt, kāň a nūtị bẹ̄ṅọ kọt go, while rain has not yet come: before it rains;
wa kẹḏọ chākị pach we went approached the village: we came near the village.

Adverbs of Cause and Causal Sentences.

Bụ kẹň a bẹ̄ná yikā dĕ rèá jwọk I could not come, *because* I was sick; *bụ kẹň dídá, yika bụ́ńị wàṅọ̀ yá* I cannot learn, because I have no book; *ya bụgin māga rējọ, yika bụ́ńị abẫṭ kị yá* I cannot catch fish, because I have no hook; *tyẹň Nwār chúńé gẹ́n rājọ kị́ wọ́n, kị yika kūla ḏọ̌ gẹ́n* the Nuer-people hate us, because we (I) have taken away their cattle; *byẹ́l wọn rechọ, kị yika bụňi kọṯ kị rei gẹ́n* our dura is bad, because it did not rain on it; *ba yẽ gwọk tịn, márẹ́* (or *máé*) *dà jwọ̀k* he cannot work to-day, because he is sick; *ba kwọ́pè γẹ́n, máé bọ̄kọ̀* he does not say it, because he is afraid; *yá bụ́ dọ̄ró, bẹ̀ṅẹ́n á ḏálé yán yi gwọk* I have no adze, therefore it is impossible for me to work; *tyẹ́là lệṯ, bẹ̀ṅẹ́n à bà kẹ́ḏá* my foot was sore, therefore I did not go.

Sometimes a causal relation is expressed without a causal particle: *yá fá chịgi chāṯọ kẹ̄ṯé, yá fẹ̀ḏọ̀* I shall walk no more, for I am tired; *wa kẹṯị wọt, feň a yígà mōḏọ* we went home, because it grew dark.

Conditional Sentences.

Kẹň chwọ̄lẹ́ yín, yi kụ kẹṯ if he calls you, do not go; *kẹň yik ya ụ lēṯị kị́ ńu, ụ́ nẹ́kè yán* if I see a lion, I shall kill him; *ụ́ yọ́k yû bí, yú ụ ṯọ̄ṯá ńyẹň* if you come, I shall give you money; *ụ yik yí fâ gọ̄gọ̀ yi ụ́ fwótè yán* if you do not work, I shall beat you; *ká yik ụ fyẹ́chè wọ́n, wọ̄ kwọ́ńè ẹ́n* if we ask him, he will help us.

The Condition in the unreal case is expressed by *ré: ká lọ́gọ́ ẹ́ yá mánút, wọ́ ré kwọ́ńè ẹ́n* if he *were* here, he *would* help us; *ká lọ́gị́ yá dà gìn chám, yí ré ṯọ̄ṯá* if I had food, I should give you; *ka lọgọ feň dé yá mádọ̄ch, wọ́ ré dè bẹ̄ṅọ̀* if the weather had been fine, we should have come.

Intentional Sentences.

Yá kẹ̄ṯị́ wọ̀k bẹ̄ yáf kị́ ḏọga I went into the bush, in order to search my cattle; *wọ kūlọ ḏọ̀ wọ́n gẹ́ mūjè wọ́n bwọ́ň, kị́fà kịne wọ́ ṯọ̄ṯị byẹ́l* we gave our cattle to the strangers, in order to get dura; *jwání rẹṅọ, kípà yí kụ́ chwọ́ň* run quickly, lest you be late!

Interrogative Sentences.

In a question the position of words is the same as in an assertion. To designate a sentence as a question, either interrogative adverbs are employed, or a change of tone takes place. Those cases are difficult particularly, in which an adverb may have a positive meaning as well as an interrogative one, for instance *kẹň* "place" may mean "here", and "where". Here the distinction can be made by the tone only.

The most important rule is this: if the last syllable of a sentence has a high or middle tone, a low tone is added to it; this low tone expresses the question:

ẹ́ kwòllà byẹ̄l	he stole dura	*ẹ́ kwòllà byệl*	did he steal dura?
ẹ́ lẽṭà kwá	he saw my grandfather	*ẹ́ lẽṭà kwòâ*	did he see my grandfather?
gẹ̀ lẽṭà rị́ṭ	they saw the king	*gẹ̀ lẽṭà rị̂ṭ*	did they see the king?

But frequently the question is expressed in quite a different way, by laying a high tone, and a strong stress on the word which is questioned; this is particularly the case with *kẹn:*

ẹ́ yẹ́n kẹ́n	where is he?	*ẹ́ yà kẹ̀n*	he is here
gẹ́ yẹ́n kẹ́n	where are they	*gẹ́ yà kẹ̀n*	they are here
rị́ṭ yẹ́n kẹ́n	where is the king?	*rị́ṭ yà kẹ̀n*	the king is here
á bi dwòà	he came yesterday	*á bì dwòà*	did he come yesterday? (the first *a* in *awa* has a very strong emphasis)
jal an ye da ṅyẹ́n	this man has money		
jal an ye da ṅyẹ́n	has this man money? (The *ẹ́* in *ṅyẹ́n* with very strong emphasis).		

If the sentence contains an interrogative adverb, the tone does generally not change:

yẹ̀ dà ḍọ̀k ádì	how many cows has he?
ẹ́ gwọ́ ṅọ̀	what does he do?
a fyêch kị́ yi ẹ́n, kịne: àgọ̀n ẹ́n mạ̄dì	he asked him: where is your friend?
à wọt mẹ́n	whose house is it?
kịpaṅọ à bọ̄kí	why are you afraid?
àpaṅọ a kẹṭ	why did he go?

In questions introduced by "shall", the subjective pronoun is suffixed and the low interrogative tone is added to the high tone of the pronoun: *kẹ́ḍâ* shall I go? *gwẹ́dệ* shall he write?

PREPOSITIONS.

They are likewise originally nouns and verbs.

Nouns:

wich head: on, upon, for, instead of:

wiy wọt on the honse, *wiy yaṭ* on the tree, *wiy rịṭ* instead of the king.

bāṅ back: behind, after, besides: *bāṅa* after me, *bāṅ wọt* behind the house; *bāṅẹ* besides him; *kwọm* back: on, upon: *kwọm adẹ̄rọ* on a donkey.

bọ̄l and *ṅim* face, front: in front of, before, at the head of: *bọ̄l nam* in front of the river; *ṅim ṭẹ̄rọ* before the people, at the head of the people.

kẹ̀lé middle: in the midst of, amidst, among: *kẹ̀lé jì* amidst the people.

*193 **_ñāch_** back: behind: *ñāch jal ẹni* behind this man;
būtọ side: beside: *būte wọt* beside the house;
yech belly: in: *yey pi* in water;
dyẹr, often shortened into *di*, middle: amidst, in, *di nam* in the water.
ṭa the base, the lower part: under, below: *ṭa yaṭ* under the tree.

Verbs:

wiṭọ to reach: *wiṭe awa a ba bi* reaching yesterday he did not come: until y . . .
gitọ to reach: *gitọ ḍyḳi* till to-morrow.

Particles which cannot traced back to nouns or verbs:

kị may have very different meanings; its original meaning is: with; *kị mẹn* with whom; *kị tọŋ* with a spear;
yi towards, by: *a nẹk yi jal an* he was killed by this man; *kẹṭi yi jal dụọŋi* go to the master; *yi* is connected with personal pronouns as follows: *ya* to me, *yi* to you, *yẹ* to him, *yi wọn*, *yi wun*, *yi gẹn*.

Salutations.

576 Some of the most used forms of salutations are given here. A. is the villager, B. the stranger.

Instead of our knocking the door, the Shilluks, before entering a courtyard, say: *yâ nẹ́n* I am waiting (may I come in?) A. answers: *bi* come! If the salutation is going on in the open place of the village, as is usual, this phrase is not said.

A. *yí bi* you have come?
B. *yá bì* I have come, or: *yâ nút*.
A. *yí kệl jwọ̀k* you have brought God.
B. *yí míṭì jwọ̀k* you have held fast God.
A. *yí nīn* did you sleep (well)?
B. *yá nīn* I slept (well).
A. *yí kwai* (meaning not known).
B. *á, yá bì*.
A. *woṭọnọ nút* are the little ones well (existing)?
B. *Nút* they are well.
A. *tyẹ̀ni gọ́l ún* your women (are well)?
B. *Nút* they are well.
A. *Tẹ̄rọ bẹ̄di yau?* Are the people well?
B. *Nut* they are. — These enquiries after the well-being of the people in the house can be extended at will, to grandparents, grandchildren, cousins etc.
On leaving:
B. says: *yá kẹḍọ fach* I am going home.
A. *kệṭ* go! or: *kẹ̄li jwọk* go with God!

SECOND PART

FOLKLORE

[p. 95]

I. OCCUPATIONS.

1. Housebuilding.

*539 *Tyẹle wọt kyệr, ka tệk (têk), ka lạbọ kạl, ka lệṅ tyẹ̀l, ka mọgọ kôṅ tyẹl wọt, ka chwâch, maka tyẹl aṅwẹn, ka ḍọgẹ dôl, ka gệr. Ka maka cháṅ ábúkyẹ̀l, ka wijẹ lệù, ka kwọ̀r dwai, ka gẹ ráù, ka gẹ mệch féṅ, ká tègùtị̀ ṅột, ka dôl kôt, ka tyẹlẹ kyệr, ka tyẹl tệk, ka tegutị kwôṅ, ká wọ̀t mák, ká dôl kịtị̀. Ka dyẹṅ kệt, ka tât, ka tegutị wórò wọ̀k. Ka wọt tịṅ, ká lẹ̀pọ̀ gûlè châp, ka kịtị, ka shệnẹ̀ twóch, ká tât, ká lûm ṅár, ká bọ̀ḍọ̀ dwai, ka yẹṭa mal, ka ṭộl mágẹ́, ka lum kịtì, ka e wijọ. Ka waṅ kājọ e dọ̄ṅọ̀, ka e kāng kị kwộr, mẹn nậk waṅ kājọ, ka waṅ kājọ nệk, ká dyẹ̀l wệkè bọ̄ḍọ. Ka wiy wọt twâk, ka chẹ̄ne wọt ṅộl, ka tádột (tẹ̄de wọt) tyện, ka wọt ṭọ́r, ka mwọ́n, ka tịgọ gwộk, ka kal tât, ka jē dệká yejẹ. Ka gyẹ̄ng kạl, ka gạch feṅ, ka jē dẹṅa yẹy wọt.*

The foundation trenches of the house are dug out, and are smoothed off. 342 Mud is brought, and thrown into the foundation trenches; and beer is poured *539 into the foundation trenches. Now the walls are built; after four days the door-opening is made round; then they build again, and when five days have passed, they begin to make the roof. Poles are brought, they are burnt (to make them hard), and then cut, so that they are of equal length. Roof-sticks are cut, and they are tied up in a circle, and a circular ditch (corresponding to the poles tied together) is dug, and the ends of the roof-sticks are put into it, and buried. Now the roof is constructed; grass is twisted into a rope, with which the poles are tied together. When this is done, the roof-sticks are taken away, and the roof is lifted upon the wall. The junction between the wall and the thatch-poles inserted into it is made tight with mud, the lower roof-ends are tied to the wall, and are tied together. Then grass is cut, and the craftsman[1] is sent for; he climbs on the roof, takes a rope, and binds the grass on the poles. Thus he makes the roof, till only the point of the roof is left. The proprietor of the house now brings a hoe, which is for the making of the roof-point. (When he has given it to the craftsman), the roof-point is made. Then a sheep is given to the craftsman. The surface of the roof is beaten smooth, the dripping-eaves are cut even, a door is made, the floor of the house is filled up with mud, and is made hard and even. A door is worked, the fence is constructed, and then the people move into the new house. A fowl is brought, and left on the ground (as a sacrifice), and the people move into it.

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[1] thatch-maker.

A Second Report on Housebuilding.

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

Housebuilding among the Shullas[1] is a trade which comparatively few men 342 learn, whether it is because apprentices are discouraged from learning it, or whether they do not want to learn, or cannot learn the trade well, I do not know. A well constructed tukl is neat and of really fine appearance. Dwelling houses are usually of the same size, conical in shape, walls of mud, sometimes reinforced with poles or corn stalks. The roofs are thatched with two kinds of [565] grass. Family class prescribes which kind may be used in thatching the house.

Every adult member of the family as a rule has a part in construction. The [462] women cut and carry in the grass and corn stalks and bring the water for mixing the mud for the walls. The men bring in the poles for the roof, make the rope, mix and carry the mud and do the real building of the house.

The material is usually collected for some time beforehand. Grass is cut [322] and cocked, poles are brought from the timber and by wetting and heating are brought into the proper shape for rafters. Large circular bands for bracing the rafters and tying the thatch and grass to are made of withs of long coarse 283 grass wrapped closely with rope. The rope for their use and for tying the grass 342 down is made from a tall grass that has a long sheath. The grass is cut and brought in, and these sheaths are stripped off and after being soaked in water are bruised with clubs until the fiber comes apart easily. It is then dampened and twisted into rope. The rope maker sits on the ground holding the rope between his toes, and forms the rope by constantly adding new fiber and rolling the rope between the palms of his hands. It is made two-ply about one fourth of an inch thick.

The mud is prepared by mixing manure, ashes or fine broken dry grass with 342 sandy earth. The mixing is done with the feet. The first step in construction is naturally the foundation. This is made by digging a shallow circular trench where the wall is to stand. The men carry the mixed mud in their hands, which must be quite stiff, and drop it in the trench. The builder forms it into the desired shape with his hands. A layer about six inches deep is put on at a time. But two or three layers a day are added. A little above the foundation an elliptical band of grass about three feet in depth is put in place to form the door. As the wall is built up the mud is built against this, which retains its form leaving the door the desired shape. Later the grass is removed. Toward the top the wall is flanged out like the mouth of a bell to receive the roof. Few houses have windows; when windows are made, they are scarcely six inches in diameter. In forming the roof the first step is the same as for the wall: a shallow circular trench is dug with the same circumference as the inner

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[1] I. e. Shilluks.

342 circumference of the finished wall. About two feet inside the trench are set forked stakes about two feet high and four feet apart. The rafter poles are now placed with heavy end in trench and resting in the forks of these poles, their tops are brought together and securely tied. The heavy grass bands are now fastened both above and under the poles at regular distances from bottom to top of roof. Corn stalks or cane are woven in between the bands and poles thickly. The roof now has its final conical shape. The roof is ready to be raised and is picked up and placed evenly upon the wall. A layer of mud is then put over the lower end of the rafter poles, to keep it firmly in place. The first work in thatching is to put on what the Shilluks call the apron of the house. A short layer of grass is put around the top of the wall and tied securely to the [illegible] ing. The thatcher then starts his course straight up the roof and work[illegible] the house, finishing the entire length of the roof as he goes around. The grass is tossed up to him in small bundles, which he places in position several at a time and removes the bands and ties them down tightly. With a paddle-shaped stick he evens up the ends of the grass, so that when the roof is finished nothing but the butt ends of the grass are exposed, and these lie as evenly as though they had been laid separately by hand. At the top the grass is brought together like a spire and wrapped with rope and rope bands. The grass lies on the roof from six inches to a foot thick, and if kept free from white ants, will last for five or six years.

2. Different kinds of Soil.

134
823

[illegible]	black, rich earth	[illegible]	brownish earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots
[illegible]	sandy ground	[illegible]	red sand
[illegible]	red earth as found on river-banks, used for making pots	[illegible]	sand, dust.

3. Field-produce.

241
824

[illegible]	dura	[illegible]	an eatable gourd
[illegible]	sesame	[illegible]	a gourd for calabashes, not eatable
[illegible]	bean	[illegible]	melon
[illegible]	cotton	[illegible]	tobacco
[illegible]	a small, sweet gourd, is eaten.	[illegible]	maize.

4. Different kinds of duras.

The common name: [illegible]. The common name for white dura: [illegible].

Kinds of white dura.

[illegible] is very long in ripening. *[illegible]* maize. 24

[illegible] has a longer ear than *[illegible]*. *[illegible]* Ducha (panic grass). 824

[illegible] "finger", has four ears, which stand upright like the fingers of the hand.

[illegible] ("kills the elephant"), *[illegible]*.

The stalks of many of the white duras are sucked like sugar cane.

Kinds of red dura.

The common name for red dura is: *[illegible]*.

[illegible] ("the Nubian"?), *[illegible]* ("of the white man"), *[illegible]* ("lion's eye") *[illegible]* ("crow's eye") *[illegible]* ("sheep-tail"), *[illegible]* ("horse-tail"), *[illegible]*.

Agriculture Among The Shelles.[1]

By R. W. Tidrick, of Doleib Hill.

The Shelles have hardly begun their agricultural life. Scarcely one half century ago they were purely a pastoral people. Only within the last decades has his lordship, the Shulla man, begun to assume the burden of providing for his family. In those earlier days the task of tilling the small patch of ground planted annually in dura fell to the woman. Her hoe was made from the shoulder blade of a giraffe or buffalo, or sometimes from the shin or rib bones of those animals. 241 233 [237] 412

Boys tended the large herds and flocks, young warriors danced, went on the chase and raid. The old men killed their time away in the village. [462]

But they say the cattle plagues became more prevalent. The Turk and Arab came and took away not only slaves, but cattle, and so necessity forced the Shulla to a larger tillage of the ground.

The change came naturally first in the northern end of their territory, where they came earliest in contact with the murderers and plunderers from down the Nile.

One man when questioned as to the food of the people in his boyhood days said: "We used to eat grass like cattle". There was as much truth as sarcasm in this statement. For even yet when the crop fails, the Shulla women gather grass seed from the swamps and plains. They rob the ants of their winter's provision of seeds. A little sugar is obtained by bruising and boiling a certain reed, which grows in the swamp. [222]

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[1] i. e. Shilluks.

241 The Shulla has not yet learned to grow a very large variety of plants. His one main crop is dura, the kaffir corn of America.

222 249 All planting except tobacco, which is planted in small plots on the river bank during the dry season and watered by sprinkling the ground from a water jar, is done in the beginning of the rainy season.

245 A small amount of Indian corn is grown, most of which is eaten when in hard roasting ear. With the dura they plant a few beans, pumpkins, squashes, sesame and occasionally peanuts. No fruits of any kind are grown, and as there are no wild fruits worthy the name, the Shulla has never known fruit until he has recently seen it in our garden or at the government stations.

The Shulla plants his dura in the same field year after year, until his crop fails once or twice. Then he hunts for a piece of high dry ground, preferably in the timber, for his early dura, and a low plain growing a certain rank wild grass for his late variety. He clears off the timber and digs up the grass for his new field which he tills, till another failure comes; if by that time his former field is growing of grass, he will return to its tillage.

His methods of farming are extremely crude, but in some respects accomplish good results. He has neither plough nor spade and never uses the mattock except to dig up the grass and bushes from new ground.

He prepares his ground by raking up the old stalks into piles with a deleib palm limb and burning them.

82 As soon as the rainy season opens and sufficient rain has fallen to soften the ground, he puts his seed to soak over night, so it will sprout the quicker, and thus more likely escape being eaten by white ants. With a long slender pole which has one end shaped like the bowl of a spoon, he opens up the ground, and drops in the seeds. As he steps forward to make another hole, he presses down the earth over the seed with his foot. The hills are made promiscuously, but are usually some eighteen inches apart in all directions. He plants a large number of seeds in a hill, and later thins out and transplants where hills are missing.

112 Often he has to replant, for there are many enemies of the sprouting grain. Some years pests of rats devour it, even after it is several inches high. The golden-crested crane also pulls up much of the grain as it comes through the ground. And as before mentioned the white ant destroys the grain in the ground unless it sprouts quickly. But under normal conditions the grain comes up very soon after planting. And the warm rains and tropical sun cause the crop to shoot up like Johnnie's bean pole. Weeds come on quickly too, and so the Shulla begins hoeing his fields at once. It is the only real cultivation he does. His hoe is either a thin circular or rectangular piece of iron with a short wooden handle.

wooden handle. The hoer sits on the ground or squats on one knee or both, 241
as he chooses, and catching the grass with one hand cuts it off just under the
surface with the hoe. Shaking the dirt from the roots of the weeds he throws
them into piles, leaving the ground clean and smooth. It is a good surface
cultivation, suitable for this soil and climate, and when the season is favorable,
the yield for the amount of ground tilled is very good.

The Indian corn grown by the Shullas is a small early variety, which is in 243
roasting ear a fortnight before the early dura is ready for parching. But
before any grain is harvested a sort of first fruits' sacrifice is made, an old man
and woman go to the various fields of the village and bring in some of the
ripening ears of corn and heads of dura, and place them by the sacred house
of the village. Some is later taken and ground and mixed with water and
plastered on the side of the sacred tukl, the rest is taken by the people and
some put on the door of their own houses, and some is carefully tied up within.
When the dura is ready for harvesting, the heads are cut off short with a clam [237]
shell and heaped upon a rack made of poles resting upon forked posts about
two feet above the ground. After drying a month it is flailed out with heavy [251]
clubs by the men and winnowed by the women and carried to the village,
where it is stored in large barrel shaped bins made of coarse grass. The bottom
of the large basket granary is oval, a grass band wrapped with rope is formed
about the small base and resting in the forks of short stakes driven in the
ground bears the weight of the filled basket and keeps it off the ground and
free from ants.

There are very many varieties of dura. One man gave me the names of
thirty-two varieties. It is probable however that the same variety has different
names in different localities.

Dura is eaten in a variety of ways. The earliest heads are simply thrown 252
on the fire and roasted. It is often merely boiled till softened and eaten so.
A great deal is made into a mild beer and used as a regular food diet. The
popular way of cooking it is to grind it into a fine meal and cook it into a
mush and eat it with milk, or cook it up with meat. It is sometimes boiled
with beans, and sesame is often eaten with it. A sort of dura bread is also
made.

The Shulla retains all of his pastoral instincts and prises his flocks and herds 233
above all else. His sheep are very inferior in size and have no wool where
wool ought to grow. His goats are small and few are good milk producers.
His cows are also generally poor in milking qualities, but are fair in size and
in beef conformation. They belong to the Indian breed of cattle, which have
the hump on the wethers.

233 [142] Tribal custom forbids the Shulla from riding upon a donkey, so he never possesses one. Cattle are never used for draught or carrying purposes, so he has no beasts of burden, and perhaps never will so long as women are plentiful.

231 [262] The villages are full of hunting dogs. Unlike the Nuers and most of the Dinkas the Shulla raise chickens. They are a degenerate Mediterranean strain. Eggs are eaten only by women and children.

Animal life must be well guarded and carefully housed at night most of the year. If an animal loiters on the river bank it most likely becomes the food of a crocodile. If one strays off into the woods it probably becomes the prey of a hyena, leopard or lion. Myriads of flies and numerous varieties of ticks also prey upon the flocks and herds, tormenting them by night as well as by day, and transmit the germs of various diseases also. Texas or tick fever is nearly always present, and a trypanosome not so fatal as the one of dreaded tsetse fly is also prevalent. The plague is a frequent visitor too and the mouth and foot diseases often attack the cattle toward the close of the dry season. The annual loss from all these enemies of animal life is very heavy, but as no females, unless barren, are ever killed for food or sold, and grass is plentiful, on the whole there is an increase in the number of live stock raised.

241 [747 177] As to the possibilities of agriculture in the Shulla land obstacles to be overcome have been mentioned. What the mission has done shows that many varieties of fruits and a considerable number of vegetables may be grown. Future generations may have lumber, if the right varieties of forest trees are planted. Cotton is not a sure rain crop, but with irrigation it has few enemies. Sugar-cane and rice can be grown in favorable places. The soil of this part of the Sudan is not generally deep, is deficient in nitrogen and very poor in humus. Nitrogen may be restored with legumes, but the humus problem is difficult, for the white ants devour very quickly all manure, mulch etc. spread upon the ground.

245 The Shulla in sticking to the one main crop of dura has after all adopted the grain which is naturally adapted to the soil and climate and yields best to his methods of farming.

5. Foods and food-stuffs.

262

[illegible]	a kind of dura-bread or mush.
[illegible]	a food of dura.
[illegible]	a food of dura.
[illegible]	a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
[illegible]	a food of dura (prepared after Arab fashion).
[illegible]	a food of dura with fat, eaten without anything else.
[illegible]	a common dura-food.

262

[illegible]	a food of dura, dainty.
[illegible]	a food of dura.
[illegible]	cooked dura.
[illegible]	green roasted dura.
[illegible]	dura roasted, then soaked and mashed.
[illegible]	dough.
[illegible]	a dura-food
[illegible]	dura, soaked, and then kept till it sprouts; for making beer.
[illegible]	beer before it is strained.
[illegible]	beer.
[illegible]	strained beer.
[illegible]	a kind of beer.

6. The seasons of the year.

805
221

[illegible]	about September, harvest of red dura.
[illegible]	about October; end of the harvest, people are waiting for the white dura to ripen.
[illegible]	about November — December; harvest of white dura begins.
[illegible]	December — January. Harvest of white dura continues.
[illegible]	hot season, January—February } no field work
[illegible]	about March } no field work
[illegible]	about April, "month of rain", beginning of the rains.
[illegible]	about May—July, time for planting red dura.
[illegible]	about July—September, beginning of harvest.

7. The months.

805

1. [illegible] (*[illegible]*) about September.
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible]

8. The day-times.

[illegible]	the first morning-twilight becomes visible.
[illegible]	morning dawn
[illegible]	morning;
[illegible]	"the earth is morning"; it is morning.
[illegible]	noon.
[illegible]	the sun is in the zenith.
[illegible]	the sun begins to sink, after noon.
[illegible]	afternoon;
[illegible]	it is afternoon.
[illegible]	the sun is setting.
[illegible]	the sun has set.
[illegible]	it is night;
[illegible]	at night, midnight.

9. Names of stars.

821

dwǫi	moon
áiwílo	
ádǫ́dò	three stars, the Uranus.
áwęl	
ábáu	"4 northern stars".
ákárį	
[illegible]	

ákwàiakikdo	appears after the sun has set.
kyęlò fìp	a star ahead of the Venus.
kyęlò rìnijo	Venus.
wir	
gyǫwǫ	"hen", Pleiades.
ìgíp	comet.

10. Household-things.

352

[illegible]	a stick to fasten the door with.
ágì	the lower part of the door.
[illegible]	door.
tàò	hearth-stone, hearth.
fàl	grinding-stone, whet-stone.
ádíw	small whet-stone.
gǫoi	neck-bench or support.
pyǫn	skin to sleep upon.
pàn, pąt	hole for pounding dura.
[illegible]	dura-stalk.
[illegible]	a frame on which spears are put, to protect them from the white ants.
[illegible]	a grass ring on which the *kǫdǫ* is placed.
kęgl	calabash, gourd.
[illegible]	gourd for churning milk.
[illegible]	small calabashes for drinking water.
álíu	a spoon made out of a gourd, for taking the hot food out of the pot.
[illegible]	leaf of doleib or dom-palm, and basket made of it.

kǫdǫ	large basket for preserving dura.
[illegible]	basket for dura etc.
[illegible]	a small *kǫdǫ*.
[illegible]	a basket.
[illegible]	pot for cooking food.
[illegible]	water-pot.
[illegible]	big pot for cooking large meals or beer.
tàbǫ	dish.
[illegible]	a mat for covering food in pots, dishes.
[illegible]	a sieve for sifting dura.
lęt	pestle for pounding dura.
fàl	spoon.
fàlǫ	knife.
[illegible]	stick for stirring food.
[illegible]	small pot for preserving beer.
[illegible]	broom.
tol	rope.
[illegible]	a rope on which clothes, dancing-sticks, etc. are hung.
[illegible]	mat of Arab making, to sleep on.
[illegible]	fence-mat.

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ābyẹ̄ŋ	a kind of mat made of ambach, as a seat for chiefs only.	*wẹ̄ji*	grass for stopping up cracks in the wall, to keep out mosquitoes.
dīm	a sieve of cloth, for straining beer.	*ațāt*	a pot.
		ßyọ̄?	
		łyẹ̄l?	

11. Handicrafts.

bāŋọ means a skilful man, one who is particularly skilled in some work, and who, therefore, likes to do this work, and is asked by others to do it for them, so that this craft becomes "his work". Of course it is not his sole occupation, except perhaps in the case of the worker in metal. His is a trade held in high esteem, so that he has become the *bāŋọ* par excellence; if the natives simply speak of a *bāŋọ*, they mean the smith or metal-worker. He does not practice his craft in one place, but goes from village to village. The other craftsmen practice their craft only occasionally. But as a rule one man knows and practices only one of the arts enumerated below. 463 [326]

bāŋọ tọ̄ŋ	maker of spears; plural: *bāŋī tọ̄ŋ*.
bāŋọ tyọ̄k bị tọ̄ŋ	the man who files spears.
bāŋọ tapą bị bị̄l tọ̄ŋ	the man who makes the spear-handles straight.
bāŋọ dāk	tobacco-pipe maker.
bāŋọ yāt bị bị̄l tọ̄ŋ	the man who makes spear-handles.
bāŋọ tacọ̄k bị pāk	potter, generally a woman.
bāŋọ gwạ̄tọ̄ lāt	who carves, makes figures on gourds.
bāŋọ gȫr bị tyọ̄l	who makes the string on which the gourds are hung.
bāŋọ wịch	who makes the roof of huts.
bāŋọ kwȫdọ̄ bị lāw	who makes skin-clothes.
bāŋọ dyāŋ	who makes cotton clothes.
bāŋọ tapą	carpenter.
bāŋọ gāt	who tattoos.
bāŋọ tapą bị lạ̄ŋ	who makes clubs.
bāŋọ cḁ̄k bị kōt	shield-maker.
bāŋọ tapą bị kwār	who makes shields to protect against clubs.
bāŋọ yọ̄t bị lāw	tailor, sewer.
bāŋọ tapą bị būl	drum-maker.
bāŋọ kwạ̄ckī būl	who covers the drum with a skin.
bāŋọ fwọ̄tī būl	who beats the drum.
bāŋọ kọ̄u bị tȳọ̄	who polishes beads.
bāŋọ fāk bị ọ̄gą	who makes ostrich shell beads.

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bǭṭe ńdlḙ́ṅ	who beats the small drum "*ńdlḙ́ṅ*".
bǭṭe gḙ́ṭ kị jè	who knocks out the lower incisive teeth.
bǭṭe twóch	who cups.
bǭṭe ṅát kị wạṭ	who dresses the horn of cattle.
bǭṭe róch	who castrates bulls.
bǭṭe ṅḗr	who pierces the ears of cattle and men, to put in ornaments.
bǭṭe kwǫ̂ṅǫ̀ wír	the leader in singing.
bǭṭe kū́dǫ̀ kị ḍáṅ	who makes the dancing-sticks.
bǭṭe tegṅ kwǫm	who makes chairs.
bǭṭe ṭǻṇì	who makes the neck supports or rests.
bǭṭe kákí lwǭl	who makes, carves calabashes, gourds.
bǭṭe twoy kǭl lùkǫ̀	who makes giraffe-tail necklaces.
bǭṭe tegṅ kị ḍǫke dǭt	who makes mat-doors.
bǭṭe shwǫ̣y kị bǭyì	net-maker.
bǭṭe shwǫ̣y kị ṭigò	door-maker.
bǭṭe shwǫgṅ kị dyòm	salt-maker.
bǭṭe tǫ́kì ṭéṅu	maker of iron bracelets.
bǭṭe fūdǫ̀ lǫ́ṭ	one who plaits stripes of skin at the end of the club-handle, to prevent the club from slipping from the hand.
bǭṭe kygre tyḙle wǫt	who makes the foundations of huts.
bǭṭe wūṅǫ̀	diver.
bǭṭe dǫ́k kị yei	hair dresser who fashions the hair into small lumps.
bǭṭe mǟt	hair dresser who makes the large artificial hair-dresses.
bǭṭe nḙ́kì fàrǫ̀	hippo-huntsman.
oyịṅg	crocodile hunter.

12. Tools of the bodo, or metal-worker.

326
413

ábáṅ	hammer.
kǫ́kǫ̈t	anvil.
tǫ̀yúyī	file.
ǒbụ̀k	bellows.
chūr	a cover for the pipe of the bellows, to prevent its growing hot.
dǫ̀kǭbị	thongs.
tùòṅ	chisel.
tǫ́rḗk	an instrument with which to pierce a hole into the spear-handle, to put the spear in.

13. Clothing and ornaments for the body.

291
301

lāw	skin-cloth, now also used for cotton-cloth.
óchyǭṅǫ̀	loin-cloth for women.
obáṅǫ̀	front-cloth for women.
dùt	skin-cloth for dancing worn by both sexes

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

yę̄r	skin cut into small stripes or fringes, worn round the waist.
dyǫ́mǫ̀	ear-rings of tin.
gwę̄lǫ	metal ring worn on arm, wrist, feet.
gwęlę yit̨	ear-ring.
yiěl	bracelet for the wrist.
gǭk	knee-ring of skin.
ógǭnǫ̀	brown ambach-ring, worn on the upper arm.
gyęlǫ	ivory ring
achǫ́t̨	ivory ring.
wę̄t̨	ivory ring carved in conical form.
owę̄dǫ́	ivory ring, a small strip.
órǫ́mǫ̀	ivory ring, big.
orǫk	knee-bells, used in dancing.
ótyaǹ	a small bell.
átútúm	bell, similar to *orǫk*.
òlóèlóé	dancing-bell
òkę̄t	cow-bell, used in dancing.
agyęr	small cow-bell.
ťęgo, tęggǫ	a common name for beads.
amanjúr	blue beads, worn by women.
rę̄k	ostrich shell beads.
gǫ́r	big beads, worn on the neck by men.
bǫl ťęnǫ	a kind of beads.
ťę́dò	a kind of small beads.
yę̀lǫ̀	green beads, round, small.
àbàťǟrǫ̀	a kind of beads.
ónyę̄ǹ	a kind of beads.
dę̀ǹ	a kind of beads.

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301

bàkǫ́	a kind of beads.
ádémǭt	a kind of beads.
aḍę́k	a kind of beads.
ápíù	a kind of beads.
óbǫ́ù	white beads.
tǫ́tǫ́ǹ	black beads.
kę̄n ówę̄dǫ́	blue beads.
γę̀rǫ̀	red beads.
ádwǫ̀gǫ̀	yellow beads.
wáǹ ágàk	"crow's eye", a big bead.[1]
gāgǫ	cowry shell.
tǫ̀myǘgǫ̀	a string for tying together clothes.
gaǹ	a kind of button worn in the hair.
wę̀nǫ̀	brown giraffe-tail hairs.
óchī̀rǫ̀	white giraffe-tail hairs.
achǘt̨	tooth-brush.
dwǫ́p	a head-dress.
óchóch	a head-dress.
dę̄m	a head-dress.
mę̀t	a head-dress, "like a shield".
agę́rǫ̀	a head-dress, "like a shield".
nwǫr	bleached hair, long.
áshíshwę̀l	a chain, worn as ornament.
gáńkú	rattle, made of leaves of the deleib, tied on leg or loin.
ógǭnǫ̀ *adę́rǫ̀*	arm-ring of ambach.
wǭl	loin-ring.
shyl gwǫk	"penis of dog" arm-bracelet of brass.
awaǹ	iron bracelet.

14. Names for cows.

233
552

ḍoàǹ	cow; common name. Plural: *ḍǫ̀k* cattle.
węt̨	bull.
rǭjǫ	heifer.

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[1] There are many more beads, each of which has its own name.

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ṅarǭjǫ	calf.
ólę̂k	grey-white spotted.
ṅéyọ̀m	head white, body black or yellowish.
ógâk	belly and neck white, back and head black.
ṅàbę̂k	one leg white, the rest of the body yellowish.
tàkyę̀ch	flanks white, the rest of the body black.
ṅàjàk	head yellowish, brown spots on the back, the rest white.
ṅàjők	head black, black spots on the back, the rest white.
ṅàkọ̀r	flanks black, belly and back white.
ṅádìṅ	brown-black, small spots.
ólût	brown-white, small spots.
ólę́ṅ	brown-white, large spots, females only.
teduk	grey.
ṅàkwách	black-white.
àjàlóṅ	
tédígò	red-brown.
tábúr	ash-coloured.
tẹtọṅ	black.
ṅàbọ́ṅ	white.
ṅéṅáṅ	striped white and red.

wâ (wąt) *tyę́l rę̂k*	(ox) with white feet.
àyòkàk	black with white tail.
óchȍdọ̀	hornless cow.
wárę̀gọ̀t	an ox with one horn directed forward, the second backward.
óbyêch	a cow with ordinary, non-dressed horns.
ọ́dę̂lọ̀	a cow with horns turned down.
ógwę̂l	an ox with horns turned towards the eyes.
ódų́lọ̀	a cow with horns pointing forward.
ṅát	a cow with horns cut off.
àgwọ̀gnọ̀m	a cow with horns directed straight upwards, like a goat's.
báṅ	a cow with one horn directed upward, the second downward.
àbàch	a cow with horns directed straight sideways.
wárnàmtàì	an ox with horns directed straight backward.
óṅȏgọ̀	a cow with horns directed straight backward.

II. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND SCENES FROM DAILY LIFE.

15. Marriage.

Kwọpe ńwọm.

Ḏāṇ e wâjọ̀ kị ńāne dāchọ, ka kǭpị kịne: yá wẹ̄lị yí! Kịne: bẹ̄ ńọ̀? Kịne: ya dwata kwọf kị yin! Kịne: yí kọ̀mọ́ ńọ̀? Kịne: ya dwata kwọpe ńwọ̀m. Kịne: dé yì rè fa kẹ̄ṭị fach yi tyẹń dọ̄ńọ? Ka kẹṭa fach, ka tyẹ́ń dọ̄ńọ̀ kọ̄pé. Kā gẹ́ kò: wọ́ bà kwọ̀fé wọ́n. Ká é dúọ̀gọ̀, ka e kọ̄dọ dyẹl mẹn kwọ̄be ḍọgẹ. Ka tyẹń dọ̄ńọ ko: wá yèi kị́ kwọ́pí, kẹ̄ṭ, kọ̄l ḍọ̄k. Ka ḍāṇọ bẹ̄nọ̀, ka ḍọ (ḍọk) kọ̄l, ká é dúọ̀gọ̀; ka kọ̄fị kịnè: kẹṭ, kọl dűt! Ka dut kẹ̄l, dute tyẹń fà jwọ̀k. Ka mọgọ tyẹ́ń, ka ṭẹrọ chwọ́l. Ka wāṭ wọ̀bọ̀ kọ̄l yì ṭẹ̄rọ̀ bẹ̄nè, ka ṭẹrọ kẹ́ḍọ̀, ka wọṭ dwai kị tọ́ń, mẹ́n kwàrṭị wúnọ́, ká ṭẹ̄rọ̀ kẹ̄ṭà fāch. Ká ṭẹ̄rọ̀ chọ̄ńọ̀. Ka ńálè ńwọ́mị ka kịṭọ̀ wọt kị́ jāl tọ́ń. Ńān a dāchọ yà gọ́l gẹ́n kị ḍay tọ́ń. Ká ṭẹ̄rọ̀ chọ̄ńọ̀, ká ńál a ńọ́mị ká kọ̄l wọ̀k yi wāté gẹ́n. Ka ńān a dāchọ kọ̄l wọ̀k yi wāté gẹ́n. Ká ṭẹ̄rọ̀ chọ̄ńọ̀ bẹ̄nè; ka ḍeań nẹ̄k, mẹ́n châm yì ṭẹ̄rọ̀; ṭẹ̄rọ̀ gîr, kị́ mọ̀gọ̀ bẹ̄nè, kị́ kwọ́n, ẹ́ gîr, kwọn ka chwọ́pé kị mau (mọu). 539*

Ká ṭẹ̄rọ̀ dáńọ̀, ṭẹrọ bia fach, ka jal ńwọ̀m chyẹ́k kị́fà ḍāṇ. Ka kọ̄pị kịne: kọní jâm! Kọl wēn, kị́ lāu, kị yiẹ̄l, gẹn a tōjì! Ka mọgọ ṭẹ̄r, ṭẹ̄r fa jāl, ka gẹ fẹ̄ka fọ̄l bẹ ńị bẹ̄nọ̀ fàch. Ka gẹ dwai fọ̄l kị́ dyẹ̀l, ká gẹ́ bẹ̄nọ̀, ká gẹ báńà kẹ̄ṭè kal. Ka kwọ̄rị kọ̄l, ka lẹ̄ń fẹ́ń; ka gẹ kẹṭa kal. Ká gẹ́ chụ̀ńọ̀ màl, báń yèchì fẹ́ń. Kà kwọ̆r kọ̄l, ka chị́kè lẹ̄ń fẹ́ń. Ká gẹ́ yèchá fẹ́ń. Ka ńāne ńwọm dọ̄ńa dá kàl. Ka dyẹl fẹ̄ch, ka kẹṭa kal. Ka gẹ pẹ̄ká fẹ́ń kị́ kàl. Ka yịṭ dyẹ̀l ńọ́l, ká gẹ́ kẹ̄ṭá wột. Ka é bàńọ̀ kị bủṭọ̀. Ka ńyẹ̀ń kọ̄l, mẹn búṭẹ́, ká é búṭọ̀. Ká dyẹ̀l kọ̄l kị mwọl, ká dyẹl nẹ̄k, ka wọ́mạ̀n é gụ̄pọ̀ kúòjọ̀. Ka kal mwọ́n, ká é rùmọ̀ kị mwọ̀nọ̀, ka gẹ kă (kẹṭa) wột bẹ́ chám. Ka ńān gni é bàńọ̀ kẹ̄ṭẹ. Ka ńyẹ̄ŋ kọ̄l, ká é châmọ̀. Ḏụkị ká gẹ́ dwàṭọ̀ yûk. Ká gẹ́ bẹ̄n, ká gẹ́ ṭọ̀ṇọ̀, ka gẹ lańa wûr gẹ́ ṭâḍọ̀. Ka gẹ rumọ ṭàl, ká gẹ́ ṭẹ̄ńọ̀; ka kal mwọ́n kẹ̄ṭẹ́, gẹ kị wọt. Ka ḍụkị ṭẹrọ bẹ̄nọ̀ bẹ̄nè bẹ māṭ kị́ mọ̀gọ̀. Kà bûl gọ́ch, ká ṭẹ̄rọ̀ chọ̄ńọ̀.

Chōṭẹ́, ka óńwọ́k kọ̄l, ka óńwọ́k nẹ̄k, ká châm yi wọ́mạn. Ká gẹ́ dọ̄gọ̀, ka ńān gni e dọ̄ńọ̀ kị́ wāi gẹ́n. Ka wékè ńal gni, ká gẹ́ bẹ̄ḍọ̀. Ka wāi gẹ́n dọ̄gọ̀.

Ka yāJẹ́, ka kọ̄l kị́ ḍeàń. Tyẹ́ń gẹ́n kōfị kịne: ḍāṇ á rẹ̄ń, ka wiyẹ wẹ̄rọ̀ kị mdyẹ̀. Ká ḍeàń kọ̄l, kā chwíe gẹ́n mịnọ. Ka gẹ ko: dọ̄kí kị́ ńà gọ́l ún! Ka gẹ dúọ̀gọ̀. Ka rei gẹ́ wịṭị fī. Sha mẹ̄kọ kamá faṭe fẹ́ń wékè tyẹ́ń gẹ́n.

A man talks with a girl, and in the course of their conservation he says: "I have come to you." She asks: "What for?" He replies: " I want to talk with you." She asks: "What do you want?" He replies: "I want to marry you." 539* 584

*539 She says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then
584 he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have
nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go,
[583] and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with
it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the rest of the dowry!"
And the rest of the dowry is brought, the part for the people in the village of
*539 God.[1] Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is
585 brought by all the people; the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which
is (a present) for the man who held fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the arranger of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-arranger of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they eat bread, bread which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people scatter, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed
with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle etc. he has still to
[583] give). They say to him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-cloths, and
bracelets for tying."

And (the next day) food (beer, and different foods prepared of dura) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The men who carry it, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of
[482 the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (to the carriers, as a present);
after that the carriers come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard
431] of the bridegroom. Now hoes are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the carriers), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their loads on the ground. So once more hoes are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their loads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the home of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for mud which is used in building; and the enclosure in besmeared with mud (is repaired). When they have

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[1] for the deceased ancestors.

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And 539*
metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go 585
out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and
spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer,
and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The
next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people
dance.

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. 539*
Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains 591
(in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home.

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. 539*
Before this is done, her relatves (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad
man," and her father and moher are angry. But when the cow is brought, they 843
are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your
family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the [844]
time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her
parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents).

16. Burial.

Ḏāŋ kǭ a tǭwį, ka tę̄rę dwai, ka gyę̄ŋę kwań, ka gǭch feń, ka gyę̄ŋę ṯǭ, ka lę̄ń tátyę̄l, ka gyę̄ŋę mę̄kę mák, ka gǫ́ch feń, ká ṯāŋ wiy ḏāŋ; ka dyęl kǭl, ka gęchí[1] lǫṯ, ka wei budę kį kal. Ká więkǭl, ka chwǫ́p, ká jẹ̀ chųkǫ̀, ka jam kwę̄r gwach. Ka dę̄rę́ kǭl, ka tęń kǫl, ka kwę̄r ǭl, ka atę̄gę kǫl, ka lāu kǫl; ka tyęń kę̣dǫ bę ńǫte kwǫ̣dǫ, mǫn tát pę̄m; ka tę̄gę woch tyęlé gę́n. Ká gę́ kę̣ḏǫ̀, ka gę ńúdǫ̀ kwǫ́ḏǫ̀, ka kwǫ̣dǫ kǫl gę pach, ka wēkè tyń kwoń, ka tyęń kwoń ko: kǫl kǫ́ch! Ka kǫ̀ch kǭl, ka gę ko: rǫmá ḏāŋ! Ka rǫ̣ti lǫ̣ṯ, ka ḏāŋ rǫ́m, ka rǫ̣ṯe kǫl, rǫm kǫ́y bùr ḏāŋ. Ka ḏāŋ e lwǫ́tá, ka jē mę̄kę ye kwǫ́ng ḏāŋ, ka jē mę̄kę yęchę́ ḏeàń. Ká pyę̀n kǫl, ka rǭr (rǭr), ká tát pę̄m, ká kįṯe jǫ́ (tabate). Ka ḏāŋ dwai kàl, ka chyęgę chwǭl, y mį̄ṯe tyęlì ḏāŋ, ka ḏāŋ kįṯe wį tabate. Ka ńù gǫ́l gę́n yéchę́ tyęli ḏāŋ, ka ńewę́n chwǭl, u lāń tǫ́k. Ká bāl kǭl, ka dyęl kǫl, ka dyęl gǫ́che lǫṯ; ka būl gǫ́ch. Ka jē ywǭgǫ; a tíni tę̄rę fa ywǫ̣ń, ka jē wùchǫ̀. Ka yāi shām, ka ḏāŋ é rúmǫ̀ kį kwǫ́ńǫ̀. Ka bak e lǭṯ, ka tę̄rę kwę̣ǫ́ gę, ka tę̄rę duggę fach. Obwǫ́yǫ̀ kǫl kį gyę̄nǫ̀, ka jē fwǭt kį obwǫyę. Ka jē kęṯi fwǭ. Ka fāl rę́p mach, ka kǭl, ńį gūsh bǭlé jẹ̀; jē e tǭyǫ̀, ka jē rįję chāń gę́n dwǫn. Ka mǫgę dwǭl, mǫn kįṯe kwǫm ḏāŋ kį kúǫ̀jǫ̀. Ká ḏāuń kǭl, ká mǫ̣́yǫ̀ tyę̄lè, ka mǫgę kǭl, kǫ́ kwǫm ḏāŋ. Ka kúǫ̀jǫ̀ dwai, ka kįṯe kwǫm ḏāŋ, ká mwǫ́ṯa kį fì, ka wǫgę chįkį kǫl, ka chįkį kǫ̀ń, ka wǫṯ chwǫ́p, ká bāl fwǭt, ka tę̄rę e wùchǫ̀, ká yāi shām, ka tę̄rę tǭyǫ̀. Ka dwan fār, ka tę̄rę kǭǫ kį 539*

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[1] *gǫch gę lǫṯ.*

*539 *kwǫfe ywǫk. Ka mǫgǫ gwách yi tę̄rǫ bę̄n. Ka wól, ká wątė gę̄n dwai. Ka mǫgǫ tyęni, ka būl gǫ́ch ki bę̄rǫ̀. Ka wąt chwǫ̂p, ká dyę̀k nę̄k; ka jē nę́nǫ̀. Dyki ka ywǫ̀gè ywǫ̂k, ká dǫ̀k áńwęn ká nękè kàl, ka dǫk ańwęn nęke de (der) fach. Ka tę̄rǫ bę̄ng bę̄n bę̄n bę̄n; Chǫ̂l gīr! Ka feń yígǫ́ bę̄rǫ̀, tę̄rǫ ywǫń, ka dǫk ańwęn nę̂k ki fāl yi tę̄rǫ. Ka pýkí yách, ka bur gę̄n kwóń ki bûtì wiy dāp. Ka atíwi dryǫ̀u ki lwǫl ki obírǫ̀ ki fârǫ́, ki tąmį dryǫ̀u, ka gę nę̂k kí yey bur. Ka tyńe dǫk ka gę kâl, kwoń feń, gę lę̂tę̀ yi tę̄rǫ. Ka ywǫke e dâ̄ng. Ka kâl tǭte yi rę́m, ka kâl tǭte yi bat, ka riṅg pâńè bę̄ne. Tyęń a kwoń dāp kęli chį́n, ki wich, ki tyęl, kí mútǫ̀.*

*539 766 When a man dies the people of the village are sent for; a fowl is taken and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; it is then thrown into the corner of the hut. Another fowl is seized and thrown on the ground, so that it dies; this one is put on the head of the dead man. A goat is brought, and beaten to death with a club, and then left in the yard. An ox is brought, and speared. And the people assemble, and the things necessary for burial are collected (from the people). An adze is brought, and a spear, and a hoe, and beads, and a skin-cloth. Then the people go to cut thorns with which to tie together boards (trees). And beads are tied round the feet of the men who do this work. They go and cut thorns, bring the thorns into the village, and give them to the grave-makers. The grave-makers say: "Bring an adze!" When the adze is brought, [804] they say: "Measure the dead man!" And corn-stalks are tied together for a measure; now the man is measured; then they take the measure, and measure the place (size) of the grave.

The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow (which has been killed). And the hide is brought, and cut into stripes, and a bier is tied together with them, and the bier is put on the ground. The dead man is carried into the yard; his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man is called, she throws away the hearth-stones lying there. A drum is brought, a goat is brought, the goat is killed with a club; the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning-dances. Then the people assembled go around in a procession dancing. Now the burial of the man is finished.

A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river, and then go back into the village. Oboyǫ (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the [768] people are beaten (touched) with the oboyǫ. The people go back into the village. The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; the people now scatter and stay away four days. After that time beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead man.[1] An ox is brought, the beer is strained, the beer is brought, and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is carried, and put on the back of the dead man; the mud is prepared (made wet) with water. Again beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession. When it is finished, the people scatter. 539* 766

After one month has passed, the people talk about the mourning-festival. Dura for beer is collected from all the people, the dura is pounded, and the relatives are invited. The beer is strained, and in the afternoon the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. Then the people go to sleep. The next morning the mourning begins; four cows are killed in the yard, and four cows are killed in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken, and thrown into the hole. The horns of a cow are brought ("and the horns of cattle, and they are brought"), they are buried in the ground (on the grave), so that they may be seen by the people. Now the mourning-meeting disbands; one of the families receives a shoulder (of one of the butchered cattle), one receives a fore-leg, and all the other meat is also divided. The people who have dug the grave, receive the bowels, the head, and the feet, and the neck.[2] 539* 765 [768]

17. Inheritance.

Ḏāŋ kḛ́ṅ a fḭ̀, wǫtẹ nût, ka jámẹ̀ kwáṅ yi ṅal dugṅ, ka ṅal fḛŋ wǫ̀tẹ́ bḛ̀dǫ̀. Ká ḏǫ̀k kwáṅ yi ṅal dugṅ bḛ̀n, ka ṅal dugṅ ụ yígẹ́ dǖch, ká ḏǫ̀k fǫ̀nẹ̀ ẹ́n, ụ yigẹ rach, ka ḏǫk kwaṅ yi ṅal fḛŋ. Ka gẹ ṅākǫ, ka ḏǫk kwaṅ yi ṅal fḛŋ. Tḛrǫ bḛ̀ŋǫ bḛ̄ne bḛ̄ne, ka kwǫp kḛ́mi, ka ye kḭ́ne: ḭ́, gẹ wuo, ena a túóní; yi chama ṅǫ kḛ̀tí kḭ́ ḏǫ̀k? fǫ̀nè ḏǫ̀k! ụ bḛ̄ŋǫ kwor, ụ chȫlè yi kḛ̀ti? Ka ḏǫk fǫ̀nẹ̀ tḛrǫ; ka ṅal dugṅ wḛ̀kè mǫ́gẹ́, ka ṅal fḛŋ wḛ̀ke mǫ́gẹ́. Ka kwǫp kḛ́m chyḛ̀, ka gẹ rẹp kḭ́ ákyẹ̀l, ka fḭ́ kǫ́ṅ fén, ka gẹ rẹ̀pǫ. Ńal dugṅ wḛ̀kè mánḛ̀ṅǫ̀, kḭ́fa ẹ́nà jáṅ kàl; ka mánǫ́k wḛ̀kè ṅal fḛŋ. Ka ṅḭ bḛ̄ŋ kwor gḛ̀nẹ́, chȫlḛ̀, ka ṅal fḛŋ e bḛ̀dǫ, fa chùdǫ̀. Ńal fḛŋ ḏegẹ ṅḛ̀mẹ́ kḭ́ ḏachǫ. Chȫḷḛ̀, fḛ̀ka fen.

Tyḛ̀ṅ gḛlẹ ka owiy jal gḛi e bḛ̄ŋǫ, ka e kḛpǫ kḭ́ akyẹl, ka ómḛ̀n e kḛpǫ kḭ́ akyẹl; ṅwḛ̀lḛ̀ gḛn fa mḛ̀k jal gḛi, wǫte jal gḛi, ḏāŋ dugṅ; mayi gḛn e bḛ̀dǫ kḭ́ jal dugṅ; kḭ́nma ahḛ̀t.

When a man dies, and he has children, his property is taken by the eldest

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[1] That is: for besmearing the grave with mud and smoothing the surface.

[2] Not everybody is buried so ceremoniously as this report tells, but only old, respected or rich people, chiefs of families or villages. — In almost every village one sees the horns of an ox buried projecting from the ground; this is the burial-place of such a man. *The Burial of a king vide page 128.*

when a man dies, and he has children, his property

is taken by the eldest

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
593 himself. In this case hey fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now *you* want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother
587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
768 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Dâṉ lę̄pè, ywǫ̂dǭ, ę bǭ wǫ̀k, ka kǭl, ka chįkì kǫ̀lǫ̀, ka ńan ęni e rę̄ńǫ̀, ka bię bę kwǫ́p: yá nęka ḓâṉ a wgr! Ká bûl gǫ́ch, ka tę̄rǫ bię wǫ̀k, ka tyęń a mgn kęte bę yę̄kė jam, gę kân. Ka tyę̀kę̀ bę̄ng, leń ri̧t; ka fach yâk, gyęn mák, ka byęl kǫ̂l. Ka tę̄rǫ bę̄ng, ḓǫk a kǫ̂l fǭtę Jǫń. Ka ni̧ y dǫk leńe ri̧t, ká ḓǫ̂k dùǫ̀k. Ka ḓǫk aryǭu gǫ́ń yi jāgǫ, ka mūje ri̧t, ka ri̧t e wę̀rǫ̀, ká è kò: kę̄t, chǫ́l! Ka tę̄rǫ chùdǫ̀, ka mgn e kāng ḓeań, ka mgn e kāng ḓeań, ka ḓǫk e tûmǫ̀, ga pyūrǫ. Ka chwǫk wų̂r, ka e bę̄ng, ka bię yi jāgǫ, kįne: kwǫ́p bę̄dà di? Kįne: kwǫf ó ṯùm. Ka ḓǫk kǫ̂l, ka gę ṯyę́r, ka gę mūjǫ ki̧ dyęk, mgk kwache tyęń ri̧t. Ka tyęń ri̧t yi̧ę̀ńǫ̀, kįne: ḓāṉ rach! Ka nę̂kè ki̧ ḓeań mę̄kǫ, ka ḓǫk kǫ̂l, ka tyęń ri̧t e bę̄ng, kęta Fashōdǫ ki̧ tyęń ḓāṉ, tyęń ḓāṉǫ fǭtę ḓǫk abich. Ka ri̧t kǭlǫ ḓǫk abich, wǫt akyęl ywǫk ńál ę̂ní.*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

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[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

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the women start to carry the valuable things away and hide them; the cattle 682
are driven into the Dinka-country. Now a company of warriors come, the
"army of the king"; they rob the village, all the fowls are seized, and the dura 539*
is carried away by them. When the "army of the king" turns back, they bring
the cattle back from the Dinka-country. Two cows are loosened by the chief, 643
and are given to the king. But the king is angry, he says: "Go, and pay 682
(greater) amends!" Then the people pay; one gives a cow, and another one 693
also gives a cow, till there are ten; then the cows are brought to one place.
Now an ambassador from the king comes, he comes to the chief, and asks: 676
"How is the matter?" The chief answers: "The matter is settled." The cows are brought and shown to the ambassador for examination. And besides they give some sheep to the ambassador and to the other people of the king (who have come with him), to please them. The people of the king take them, saying: "The matter of the man is bad! (that is: the gifts are not sufficient)". Now another cow is killed (and given to the ambassadors of the king). After that the cows (the ten cows mentioned above) are brought, and the people of the king go to Fashoda (with the cows), together with the family of the murdered one. The family of the man who has been murdered, receive five cows. The king gives them five cows and an ox, as a mourning (a mourning-fund) for their dead relative.

19. Blood Revenge.

Jal mẹ̄kọ, jal Mwọmọ, jal mádị̈ch, ka nẹ̄kè yi rị̈ Yọ. Ka tyẹ̄ń gẹ́n é ywọ̀ńọ̀. Ka jē̃ sị lui yi fō̤tẹ bwoń, ka gẹ sị makẹ, ka gẹ chọ̄ń wọt, ka jē̃ e lọ́gọ̀ pyar abí-kyẹ̄l, ka mẹkẹ ḓāṇ, ka gẹ duọl; ka gẹ rumẹ duọl, ka gẹ tyẹ̄ń; ka gẹ rumo tyẹ̄ń, ka būl kọl wọk, ka ḓāṇ kẹ̄l, ka nẹ̄k, mẹn gọy būl; ka būl tị̄ń wọt kị bọr, ka būl tị̄ń wọt, ka ḓāṇọ kẹ̄l, ka nẹ̄k; ka ywọgẹ ywọk, ka pyar abi kyẹl kẹ̄l wọ̀k, ka gẹ nẹ̄k, (kẹ́ń) ḓāṇ a nẹ̄kè yi rị̈. Kā gni anan, ka Chọl e buọgọ bẹ̄ne. 539*

A certain man, a man of Mwọmọ, a very good man, was killed by king Yọ. 539*
His relations mourned for him. — At that time people (Shilluks) used to run 628
away from the country of the whites (i. e. Arabs), these were caught by the relations of the dead one, they were all put into a house, and when they numbered sixty, then beer was brewed, and it was mixed with flour; when they had finished mixing it, they sifted it; when they had finished sifting it, a drum was brought out, and one man was brought, and was killed; he was the one for beating the drum. Early next morning the drum was put into the house; when they had put the drum into the house, again a man was brought out and killed; and he was mourned. Thus all the sixty men were brought out and killed, in the place of the one man who had been killed by the king. That was the reason why the Shilluks were much afraid.

20. A Quarrel between Husband and Wife.

*539 *Jal mẹ̄kọ e ńwọmọ. Ka ńan a ḍachọ bẹ̄nọ, e kānọ pí; ka jal ẹni wẹ̄rọ̀, kịne: à, ga pi ṅọ? Ya bụ kẹch. Ka ńan a ḍachọ ka kwōna wọk. Ka gẹ nẹnọ, ka gẹ tōrọ yi kẹch; chama ńị butọ fen, ka ńinẹ báńà mẹ̀jọ̀ yi kẹch.*

Ka gẹ kẹḍọ bẹ̄ kwatọ kị byẹl, ka ńan a ḍachọ lōńa wọt (γọt), e kānọ gin cham. Ka gẹ bẹ̄nọ, gẹ kātọ byẹl, ka gẹ pẹ̄ka pén; ńan a ḍachọ kúchè gẹ́n, ńan a ḍachọ pạnọ kị gọre wọt. Ká gẹ̀ ńāmọ̀, ka ńị ko: á, ówà, chẹ (cha) dugń a wań mēyi (mẹ̄i), ńwāl ẹ́ná! Ka gọ ńwāle. Ka gẹ yūjọ kị byẹl. Ka ńan a ḍachọ fẹ̄chọ kịne: ńimia, a kịdi? a ya re wa rẹẹ? Jal e ko: ẹ̀ ńawọ-tyau! gọń ḍọga! Kịne: kịpańọ? Kịne: chā re a wẽke ya kẹch? ko: ẹ́, faṭe yin a kōbị awa kịne: ga pi ṅọ? Ka ńal ẹni kẹṭa wọk; ka wẹn chwọ́l, ka e bẹ̄nọ; e ko: á, pyeche ńa wun, wẽke ya ḍọga! kịne: kịpańọ? Kịne: ẹ́, pyeche yau! A pyey ńān ẹni, kịne: ńān! á kịdí? A kōp ńate, cha wẽkè yẹ ḍọgẹ! Kịne: ẹ́, kúchè yán! Ńa tyau, tẽ kwọ́p! Ya kọ̄la pi awa; a kōbị́ kịne: gẹn a pi ṅọ? Kẹń ẹni anan; ẹ́na (γẹna) kẹ́ḍá. Kịne: ṅọ̄! A tōre yi kẹch, a kẹṭi gẹ bẹ̄ kwále byẹ́l, a kịṭa gin cham wọt, gẹ tọ̄k. Faṭe kẹń ẹni anan? a bẹ̄nị, a kōbị kịne: ówà, cha dugń a wań byẹli! a ńām gẹ́n, ẹ́ná kōbá, kịne: yā nẹ̀n! A kōbị: ńa tyau! gọń ḍọga! A kōba kịne: bụ́h! na yín a kyẹt áwà, kịne: ga pi ṅọ? Faṭe kẹń ẹni a bẹ̄n anan? A kọ̄la gin cham; a yọ̄dẹ́. A kōbe wiy ńān ẹ́ní: yi kwata kapańọ? Adi? chōl byẹ́lá a kwāl yi yín! A kōbe kịne: kịpańọ? Yā dẹ, a wẽke ya kẹch! Yi cha (yá) kūwa! ḍọgi gọ̄na yin. A kẹḍọ, a kọ̄le wọṭ, mẹn lọ̄gẹ́, a lọ̄gẹ́ lwọgge órọ̀, a ṭumị kwọp.

[515] A certain man had married a woman. One day his wife came and brought him water (to wash his hands, as is the custom before eating). But the man was
*539 angry, and so he said: "What is that water for? I am not hungry." Thereupon
593 the woman went outside, she too was cross. When they went to sleep, they were
586 troubled by hunger (both havi[illegible] eaten nothing). The man tried to lie down, but his eyes refused to close on [illegible]unt of hunger.

[674] In order to get something to eat, the man with a friend (who lived in the same house) went to steal dura. But in the meantime the woman had prepared food and came into the house, after the men had gone. After some time they returned, bringing with them the stolen dura. They sat down in the house, but did not know that the woman too was there; she hid in a corner of the house. And the two men ate. They talked to each other: "Ah, brother, you have a thick ear of corn there, just let me touch it!" And he touched it. So they ate the corn from the ears. Suddenly the woman asked: "My brothers, how? Why do you bring such shame upon me (by stealing corn and not eating the food I have prepared)?" Then the man said: "You cursed woman, loosen my cattle."[1] She asked: "Why?" He said: "Why do you leave me hungry?" She

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[1] This is the formula for: "I will be divorced from you." Loosen the cattle (give back the cattle) which I have paid your father for you.

replied: "Not so! did you not say yesterday: what is the water for?" The man 539*
went out, he called his wife's father. When the father came, he said to him: "Ask 586
your daughter (what has happened), and then give me my cows." The father
asked: "Why?" He said: "Just ask her!" He asked the girl, saying: "Girl, how 593
is this? The man says he wants his cattle back!" She replied: "I don't know." The father said: "You cursed girl, tell me all about it!" So she told: "Yesterday I brought water, then he said: 'What is that water for?' That is the matter. Then I went out." The father said: "All right." The woman continued: "In the night he was troubled with hunger, therefore they went to steal corn; in the meantime I brought the food, and saw that they were gone. Is not that the matter? And then, when they were eating, one said to the other: 'Brother, what a big corn-ear you have!' Then I said: 'Here am I!' And he said: 'You cursed woman, loosen my cattle!' And I replied: 'Dear me, was it not you who refused yesterday saying: what is the water for?' Is not that the whole matter? I brought food, and he cursed!" After that the father of the girl said to the husband of his daughter: "Why did you steal? How is that? Restore me my corn which you have stolen!"[1] The man said: "Why? why was I left hungry?" The father only replied: "You are a thief! I will give you back your cattle." — When the husband heard that, he brought an ox for reconciliation, with that he reconciled, he reconciled his father-in-law, and so the matter was settled.

21. The Husband who wanted to cook.

Jal mēkǫ ńį bǭda gwǭlǫ; ka kōpa ḏāne gǭlę̄ kįne: ę, ńān, ya lǭna ṯal![2] *Ka* 539*
ńane ḏachǫ ko: dǭch! Ka e ko: bǫ́h, ṯāl dǭch ę́n! ḏān yiga máchwé yi ṯāl. Ká è ṯāḏǫ. Ka e kęḏǫ, ka kwęn ṯ̄wį, ka óbǫ́i ṯwǫra mal, ka gǫ ńį yārį, ka gǫ ńį kǭńį pań. Ka kwęne chę̄gǫ, ka wíy pań rum yi pyęn, ka kwęn tǭkę, ka lwǫl dwǫń tǭke ńa-gǫl gęn. Ka męn a gǭpe wǭṯǫ̀ņǫ̀; ka e bǭdę gan óbǫ́i.[3]

Ka gin cham e ṯum kį chām, e bǭdį yau, ka ńan a ḏachǫ kęṯa wǫk, ka pań ńwālę, ka gǫ yǒdį e ṯǭk, obǫi ṯwǫwǫ. Kįne: bǭ, u ya ćich adi? Ka ńį bwǫ pāń, ka ńį ḏwoṯa mal, ka ńį gāyǫ, kįne: bǫ́h, lę̄! Kwǫp a bań dwę̄gǫ̀. Ka ńa gǫl gęn ko: á gin ńǫ̀? Kįne: ę, faṯe gin ńį kwǫp! mī ńa-ḏān, chwǫla: ńį chwé chwǫla yi ńį chām óbǫ́i, ka ṯāla gin cham a tin, a ṯǭga obǫi pāń. Kęń gwi anan, dę chwǫla yin chwé yi obǫi. A kōbį ńan a ḏachǫ kįne: wíy ńāra, yi nęke mare ńę chén? Ya fa dǭge ṯal kǭṯe. Kęń gwí anan; a ḏwoṯį ńan a ḏachǫ mal, a ṯāpe gin cham, a chāmį, ka chwǭę mį̀nǫ̀.

A certain man was very thin, and he said to his wife: "I say, my wife, I will 462
cook in place of you." The woman said: "All right!" He said (to himself): 539*
"Why, cooking is a good thing, a man grows fat from cooking." So he cooked.

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[1] The man had — without knowing it — stolen the durra of his father-in-law.

[2] "I will come later", or: "do later, cooking": I will cook after, instead of you.

[3] He remained thinking of the foam.

462 *539 He went and poured much water on the flour (to make bread), so that the foam floated on the surface. He skimmed the foam off and put it into the hole near the grinding-stone. When the bread was done, he covered the hole with a skin, and the bread he put into a large gourd for his wife, and what was left (in the pot), he scratched out for the children. (He did not take any food for himself, because) he was thinking of the foam. (He thought the foam was the best of the food, therefore he reserved it for himself).

When his people had finished eating, he sat quite still, waiting till his wife had gone out. Then he uncovered the hole and saw that the foam had gone, it had dried off! He said: "Dear me! what shall I do now?" He lay down, he got up again, he was quite perplexed. He could not say one word ("talk refused to return"). His wife asked: "What is the matter?" He answered: "Why, it is not a thing to be told; mother of my children, I thought because you are so fat, I thought it was because you used to eat foam, so I cooked the food to-day, and I put the foam into the hole. That is the matter. I thought you were so fat from eating foam. His wife said: "Father of my child, what greediness has been troubling you?" He replied: "I shall never cook again." That is it. The woman arose and cooked food, he ate, and was pleased.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. SICKNESS.

22. Treatment of Sick People.

[illegible] 539*

When a man is seized by sickness, people are called for, and the people 539*
ask: "Does he spend the whole night with sickness (is he troubled by night, 755
so that he does not sleep)?" Again they ask: "How did the sickness come?"
And a goat is brought, and the people pray, pray to God; then the ear of the [182]
goat is cut off; spittle is sprinkled on the body of the sick person; the goat
is killed, its blood flows on the earth; the meat is eaten by the people. Now
the people scatter (go home). If next day the sickness is still bad on him, a [956]
sorcerer is sent for. When the sorcerer comes, he says: "Bring a hoe!" and:
"Bring a fish-spear!" and: "Bring a skin-cloth," and: "Bring a goat!"[1] When
the goat is brought, the sick man is brought into the bush. The goat is put on
the top of a white ant hill; its belly is cut open; when this is finished, the man
is carried home, and the sickness disappears.

23. Another Report on Sickness.

[illegible] 539*

Another sickness is called dudip. When this falls on a man, the sorcerer is 539* 756
sent for. When he comes, he says: "Bring a hoe to dig medicine with." Then

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[1] These all are the fee of the witch-doctor.

[2] [illegible]

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a goat is brought, and a skin-cloth, and a ram, and a knife, and a round spear, and a certain (kind of) grass, and a fan, and a gourd. The ram is laid on the earth at the door of the hut, with its belly turned upwards. Then the sick man is brought, he sits down on the belly of the ram, his wife is placed behind him (on the ram), and his youngest son in front of him; thus they hold the ram fast, till it dies. Then they rise, the belly of the ram is cut open, the contents of the stomach are taken out and smeared on their bodies (of those three persons). The heart also is cut out, and the bowels. The hoof is cut off, and these things are buried at the door of the hut. Now the medicine is crushed, it is mixed with water, it is given to the sick man, and drunk by him. And they string beads, red ones, their name is [illegible], they are tied about his back. The fan is cut in pieces, and the gourd too, and the grass is taken, and brought into the bush on the pathway, it is thrown on the pathway; water is poured into the gourd and thrown on the ground. The round spear is taken by the sorcerer, so are the hoe, the knife, the goat, and the ram. [756]

14. Sicknesses.

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[illegible]	the abdomen is swollen, pains, diarrhoea.
[illegible]	heart-ache, pulmonary disease.
[illegible]	cold, catarrh.
[illegible]	insanity, lunacy.
[illegible]	giddiness.
[illegible]	teeth fall out, pains in the bones.
[illegible]	dropsy, hydropsy.
[illegible]	pains in the buttocks.
[illegible]	rheumatic pains, chiefly in the legs; feeling cold.
[illegible]	guinea worm, Furendit of the Arabs; filaria medinensis.
[illegible]	swelling of knees and elbows.
[illegible]	leprosy
[illegible]	a disease of the head, the hair comes out in consequence of ulcerous inflammation.
[illegible]	the skin peels off.
[illegible]	caries.
[illegible]	a kind of light leprosy.
[illegible]	swelling of the shin-bone.
[illegible]	salt-rheum, "lupus".
[illegible]	small-pox.
[illegible]	a sickness manifesting itself in strong fevers, generally mortal, chiefly children suffer from it.
[illegible]	"thing of the stranger", that is: of the Arab; siphylis.
[illegible]	inflammation of the finger-joints; parts of the finger cut off.
[illegible]	inflammation of the joints of the toes.
[illegible]	gonorrhoea.
[illegible]	boils.

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[illegible]	the same as *[illegible]*, but it is curable, *[illegible]* is incurable.
[illegible]	a kind of leprosy on the foot, takes a long time to heal.
[illegible]	the skin becomes rough, squamous.
[illegible]	diarrhoea.
[illegible]	diarrhoea.
[illegible]	blindness.
[illegible]	eyelashes get red, fall off.
[illegible]	lameness.
[illegible]	thigh-bone is affected, it is mortal.
[illegible]	disease of the outer ear, chiefly of children.
[illegible]	itching.
[illegible]	"a cripple who never walks".
[illegible]	hunch-backed.
[illegible]	a disease of cattle and men, pains in the back.

IV. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

25. The Election of a King.

Ŋ̈ẹ̈ rįḍ.

*539 *Kẹ̈ rẹ̈ (yẹ̈) rįḍ, nį dwài kwbrí ḍịṇ̈, ka wǫ̈ņ ṇa rįḍ, ka gẹ wǫ̈t, ka jì kẹ̈ṭẹ fǫ̈tẹ ḍǫ̈ṇg, ka lǫ̈lẹ kḍl, ka kẹ̈ṭẹ mach, ka bǔk. Ka wǫ̈kí lǫ̈ṇ̈, lẹ̈ yį mach, ka mach bǫ̈dǫ lǫ̈ch, faṭẹ rįḍ; ka chǫ̈kį wǫ̈kǫ lǫ̈ng mach, ka e lyẹ̈lį mẹ̈k, faṭẹ rįḍ, ka chǫ̈kį lẹ̈ne mach, ka e lyẹ̈lẹ dwǫ̈n mẹ̈k, faṭẹ rįḍ; ka wǫ̈kǫ chǫ̈kį lẹ̈n mach, ka mach e tọ̈, faṭẹ rįḍ; ka wǫ̈kǫ lẹ̈n mach, ka e lyẹ̈l lyẹ̈l dwǫ̈n, ka yẹ̈tẹ mal, ka tẹ̈rọ ẹ̈ṇ̈, rįḍ anan! Ka tẹ̈rọ bǫ̈nǫ, ka nẹ̈na pǫ̈l. Dọkį ka jì bǫ̈ng, ka jì wẹ̈yọ pach; tẹ̈yẹ lǫ̈ a bǫ, ka gẹ nį tǫ̈na pǎn, ka nį yǫ̈lį ḍọn; ka gẹ bǫ̈ng wẹ̈yį pan, ka yǫ̈lį ḍọn. Ka gẹ wǫ̈ṭẹ Bǎchǫ̈dǫ, ka jǎne dwǫ̈n e pǫ̈chǫ kine: amẹn a kwǎn yį lǫ̈ṇ? kine: ṇa rįḍ ǎnte.*

Chǫ̈lį, ka jǫ̈k dwǎi, ka gẹ dwǎi Mwǫ̈mǫ kį Tǔng. Ka e bǫ̈ng kine, gẹ jǫ̈yẹ kine, ka kwǫ̈j kǫ̈m, ka tẹ̈rọ kǫ̈lǫ. Tẹ̈rọ kẹ̈ṭẹ fǎrọ, ka pǎre tyǫ̈k, tyẹ̈k dǫ̈yǫ̈l. Ka jì nǫ̈nǫ pǫ̈l. Ka kẹ̈r gwǎ ka jì bǫ̈ng, gẹ kẹ̈ṭẹ pach. Ka tẹ̈n kwǎnį chǫ̈nǫ̈, ka jì kẹ̈ṭẹ kal, ka tyẹ̈ne mẹ̈n é ywǫ̈nǫ. Ṅį rẹ̈ṇ gwǎ bǫ̈dǫ wẹ̈t; ka jaka, kwǎ rįḍ, a chwǫ̈l, ka gẹ kẹ̈ṭẹ kal. Ka tǎlat ǹǫ̈lǫ kį tẹ̈n; ka gẹ pọ̈ṭẹ wẹ̈t, ka ṇa rįḍ kwǎn gẹ wẹ̈k kį wẹ̈t. Ka e wujẹ ḍọn, ka ḍọn nǫ̈kǫ yį jǫ̈k, ka gẹ chamẹ ḍọn. Ka kǫ̈ ka tẹ̈rọ kǎ Tǎbǫ̈lǫ, ka jǔgẹ é kǎnǫ kį atǫ̈t, ka atǫ̈t chǫ̈nǫ rįḍ, ka kwẹ̈p kǫ̈mǎ chǫ̈.

*539 643 [563] When a king is to be elected, they bring the descendants of the Nubians,[1] and the sticks of the princes are broken. And some people go to the Nubian country, and bring some flint stones; they are put into the fire; then the fire is blown up; and a stick (of the prince) is thrown into it, into the fire; if the fire remains black, then that one (the prince or pretendent who threw his stick in) is not the king. Another stick is thrown in (by another prince); if the fire burns (flames up) a little, then this one is not the king. Again another stick is thrown in; if the fire burns a little high, that one is not the king. Another stick is thrown in; if the fire dies, that is not the king. Another one is thrown in, and if the fire burns with a big flame, and blazes up, then the people laugh: "This is the king (the prince who threw in this stick, he is to be king)."

> [Hofmeyer says concerning this: "According to an ancient use which existed before Nyikang's time, a number of little stones according to the number of princes which have been proposed for election are thrown into a fire. Each stone has its name; now the one whose stone remains in the fire without cracking becomes king. This test is repeated so long till only one single stone is left.]

After that the people come (from different villages); they sleep in the bush,

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[1] The Shilluks say: "When Nyikang brought his people into the Shilluk country, he brought some Nubians with him; these Nubians live in several villages among the Shilluks up to this day; they are known by the Shilluks, but in their outward appearance they do not differ from the Shilluks." According to the report given above they seem to play or to have played rather an important rôle in the constitution of the Shilluk dynasty. It appears that the Shilluks have been in some political connection with the Nubians.

539* 643

the next morning they come near and enter the village. The people of the stones (those who brought the stones) come and turn to a certain village, and a cow is sacrificed; they go into the next village, and a cow is sacrificed (in each village which they pass, a cow is sacrificed). So they come to *Fashoda*. On arriving there, the great *chief* asks them: "Who has been elected by the first stone?" They answer: "This or that prince" (calling the name of the elected one).

539* 634 643

That is all, and then the chiefs are brought (*are sent for*); they all are brought, from Mwomo to Tonga (*the chief from each district, from the extreme north [Mwomo] to the south end [Tonga] of the Shilluk country is sent for*). And they all come, that is, all chiefs come, and they talk about the matter. Then the people go to the village (of the newly elected king), they surround his village all around; after that they pass the night in the bush. Early next morning they go into the village again. Their spears are taken from their hands. They go into the enclosure (where the new king lives). The women cry. The king remains in the hut. The chiefs, the descendants of the kings, are called, they too go into the enclosure. The door-stick (of the hut) is cut off with a spear. They rush into the hut, and take the prince (the new king) out. He gives them a cow, the cow is killed by the chiefs, and they eat the meat. Then they take the new king to Toläŋ, and they adorn him with beads, with dancing beads of the king. And they hold a long palaver.

16. A second report on the Election of a King.

539*

[illegible]

*539 *bäng. Ko e [illegible]: [illegible], [illegible]! [illegible] [illegible]? [illegible] bi dieb. Ko [illegible]. Ko [illegible] Nikaŋ. Ko [illegible]. Ko [illegible]. Ko [illegible]. Ko [illegible] [illegible].*

*539 613 The chiefs are sent for; and the people (together with the chiefs) come, they assemble and talk about the matter. And the king is seized, and brought (back) into his own village. He is brought to a large place, and there he is (publicly) elected outside the courtyards. They assemble in the court of Nyikang, the large court; and the people pray, they pray to God, and they pray to Nyikang too; during this time the king is held fast. When this (praying) is finished, water is sprinkled on his body by all people; he is brought into a yard and is washed by the wives of the king. After that his body is covered with clothes, with royal clothes, and a royal spear is given to him; then he goes up to his royal hut, he goes up into it, and stays there one year.[1] When the year is passed, the people (the chiefs) gather, and the people of Nyikang are sent for. [778] They are brought from Akurwar, the village of Nyikang. They come and bring (the wooden statues of) Nyikang and (of) Dak, they are beautifully adorned, many ostrich feathers are tied to them. When they are brought, the people cry: "Nyikang has come!" Now cattle is brought, and a man is caught, they bring him, strip his clothes off him, and bind him. He is laid on the ground in the midst of the road. And all, all the people come, the king in their midst, and the people pass over the back of this man, they step over him. When that is done, the people of Nyikang come, and bring a whip, and the people run away; — the king catches hold[2] of a girl — they run[3] away because of the

173 614 603 [According to Hofmayr (Anthropos V, page 333) this girl is always taken from the clan of the Kwa-okal: "The Kwa-okal come from the Bahr el Ghazal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang; but a crime committed by one among them against the house of Nyikang, reduced the clan. They were declassed to ordinary Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they were sentenced to pay a girl to the king. This contribution has to be delivered whenever a new king is elected, but in course of time it has become an honour and a profitable business . . . This girl always stands at the king's side during the ceremonies of election. For this tribute the clan receives clothes, beads, bells, hoes, and harpoons. A hole in the ground near Fashoda is filled with sheep; besides cows and oxen are driven into it, as many as may find place; these also belong to the relatives of the girl. This girl is now called nya kwer (i. e. child belonging to the authority. W.).

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[1] or: "one day"?

[2] or: "to hold fast by"?

[3] vide page [illegible], f.n.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

> There are several other clans which have the privilege of performing 614
> certain ceremonies in connection with the election of a king. One has the 643
> duty of fanning the king with a feather of the king of birds, another has to secure the dura sticks with which the party of the king defeats the party of the enemies.*]

people of Nyikang, but they be beaten by the people of Nyikang; for they (the 539*
latter) beat all people, and every one who is beaten, is put into a separate 643
place and has to pay a fine to the people of Nyikang. All the people try to run into a house.

Now a cow is brought, the cow is speared, and the king is brought out. All the people come, all the chiefs, and they place the king outside the door of the great court; the people pray. The king is given these commandments: "Do not do any wicked things! Do not kill people! Govern the country of the chiefs in peace!" And the king rises, and all the people go down, they kneel on the earth, but the wives of the king kneel beside him. And he says: "To Shilluk people all, look at me! This is the country of my father and my grandfathers; you will live a peaceful life through me!" And all the people say: "Our father, our father!" A cow is brought, and is speared on account of the prosperity (for the good speed) of the king. And cattle are brought, and given to the people of Nyikang. And the man (who was bound) is released, and goes home. Another cow is speared, which finishes the matter. And the king is covered with certain clothes, big clothes, royal clothes. Now the people scatter, each one goes to his own country.

27. How Clothes are secured for the Royal Court.

Ka [illegible] 539*

*539 *Kiper: [illegible]*

*539 The people go hunting game, a game for the king, a gyeh-antelope. And all the people go, they are many, and the chiefs address them: "O ye people,
229 (hear) a commandment of the king, concerning the gyeh-antelope, which belongs
693 to the king: if any man let the game escape, he shall surely be fined!" Then
651 they pray: "O Nyikang, this matter is under your auspices! Do not suffer us to have any mishap! You grandfather of men, kill the game well, so that we may incur no debts! May it be killed well, o Nyikang!" Then a goat is brought, it is speared; a fowl is brought and cut up. Now the hunting-party arises, each part (goes) in a different direction. And when many antelopes have been killed, the people come back, and the chiefs assemble, and the game is brought before them; when they have brought it all, the big (district-) chief divides the animals, and says: "This chief shall take this, and this one shall take that;" then he says: "Tan it!" And they tan it. When they have finished tanning, the skins are brought before the chief for examination. The chief (when he has examined them) says: "All right!" Again he says: "Shall we not bring them (to the king)?" He seizes a cow, which they take with them (to Fashoda); all the chiefs assemble, and go to Fashoda. When they arrive there, they ask for permission to enter (the royal court). It is said to the king: "The chiefs have come." They greet the king: "Our Lord, we have come." He asks: "What do you bring?" They answer: "We have brought royal goods." The king asks: "How many?"
[596 They reply: "Sixty." He answers: "Very well." Then the king brings a big steer, and gives it to the chiefs. The steer is killed, and the chiefs stay to eat
641] it, together with a cow. Then they ask the king for permission to go: "Our lord, shall we not go now? (we will go now)?" The king answers: "Why, hold fast (to) God (that is: stay)!" So the chiefs remain; and beer is strained, and they stay to drink. Afterward the king says: "Well, all right, go now with God!"

When they come home and approach their villages, the drum is beaten, and the people dance to the drum; then they address the people: "O ye people, we have returned; may the country live in peace!" [1]

18. Making Boats for the King.

2 539 *[illegible]*

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[1] The dyeh-antelope belongs to the king, out of its hide clothes for the king's wives are made.

The people go to cut boats, boats for the king; and the people cut them, 539*
and bring the boats, all the people come (with the boats), and when they 501
approach the village, the chief is called; the boats are put before him for examination. He looks at them, and seizes some, saying: "Take these boats!" They are taken, then he says: "These belong to the king"; they are hewn (carved), are sewn together, and after that they row them to Fashoda.

29. Provinces of the Shilluk country 635

beginning from south.

1. *Thiṅ*
2. *Ñijwadǫ*
3. *Dǫaṅ*
4. *Dyr*
5. *Ñelbwǫk*
6. *Wǫlǫ*
7. *Dyǫl*
8. *Fiatkǫǫ*
9. *Aryǫkǫr*
10. *Ayweṅwaṅ*
11. *Ajǫgǫ*
12. *Fǫkǫǫ*
13. *Ohiyǫkǫwǫly*
14. *Obai-Dǫgǫ*
15. *Afǫfwǫǫ*
16. *Fwǫkwǫk*
17. *Owǫjǫkǫ*
18. *Twǫrǫ*
19. *Awin*
20. *Dwr*
21. *Adǫdǫ*
22. *Dip*
23. *Adǫkǫǫ*
24. *Awǫrǫjwǫjǫ*
25. *Kǫkǫǫ*
26. *Obwǫ*
27. *Mǫlǫkǫl*
28. *Fwǫdǫ*
29. *Oyǫt*
30. *Wǫu*
31. *Fǫdǫ*
32. *Fǫǫǫu*
33. *Diq*
34. *Ñǫmǫṅ*
35. *Bǫl*
36. *Fǫbǫr*
37. *Bǫt*
38. *Ayǫbǫ*
39. *Yǫn*
40. *Lǫl*
41. *Kwǫjǫ*
42. *Pǫchǫdǫ*
43. *Aywǫrǫ*
44. *Ñagǫr*
45. *Gǫlǫǫṅ*
46. *Fǫjǫǫ*
47. *Lǫmǫ*
48. *Kǫjǫt*
49. *Gǫlǫ*
50. *Kwǫchǫǫ*
51. *Alǫt*
52. *Dǫmǫt*
53. *Bǫrǫjǫ*
54. *Mǫl*
55. *Aluǫjǫkǫ*
56. *Oyǫn*
57. *Fwǫtǫkǫǫ-Odǫyǫ*
58. *Ñǫyǫǫk*
59. *Ayǫǫjwǫjǫ*
60. *Tǫrǫ*
61. *Twǫtǫ*
62. *Akǫrwǫdǫr*
63. *Abǫr*
64. *Mǫjǫǫ*
65. *Mwǫjwǫ.*

The Clans or Divisions of the Shilluk People.

The Shilluks are divided into a number of clans or tribes, each of which is traced back to a common ancestor. In most cases this ancestor is a man, but some of the clans claim descendency from an animal. 614

The following names of the clans and all the remarks added have been procured by *Reverend D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill*, who collected them from an assembly of natives, and had them afterwards examined by some Shilluk men who

614 are known for being well versed in the history and traditions of their people.

The names are given in the succession in which the natives enumerated them. If there are two different traditions of a clan, the second is introduced by: "Diff."

The word Kwa means "descendant."

> [Hofmeyer in "Anthropos" enumerates 13 clans and gives some remarks on four of them.]

614 773 *1. Kwa-Ajal,* was founded by Jal, one of the men who came with Nyikang from his earlier home. They live at Nyelwak. They lay out the circle for building the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: the clan was founded by Milo, who named it after his son Jal. Milo waged war with the sun, and got a cow. When Nyikang saw it he was pleased and asked, where he got it. On learning it had been gained from the sun, he sent Milo back for more. The latter managed to steal several; but the sun became angry and burnt Milo and his people. Eventually a battle occurred, in which the sun succeeded in killing all the cattle except a pair of calves, which Milo saved by wrapping them in his cloth. He got them safely to earth.

2. Kwa Mal, was founded by a man and a woman who came down from above *(mal).* They left their children on earth and ascended again. — Diff.: they died on earth; their home is Malakal.

2a. Kwa Lek, was founded by two celestial beings, a man and his wife. It gets its name from the large wooden pestle that the Shilluks use in crushing their dura. They quarrelled over a lek; the man wanted to use it to stir the cow dung, at the same time the woman said she needed it for crushing dura. Neither would yield to the other. Seizing the lek they fought over it. So violent was their quarrel that they fell to earth. Nyikang captured them and told them to settle at Malakal. The woman taught the people to make beer. Later they escaped and returned to the skies. At the crowning of the king their descendants strike the people with whips of sheep skin. The lek over which they quarrelled, is now at Malakal. — Diff.: they died at Malakal; and this is the same division as No 2, and should not be counted as a separate division. —

> [This last remark is no doubt right, as both *2* and *2a* are of the same "celestial" origin; moreover Hofmeyer in "Anthropos" gives a description of the kwa Mal which is identical with that of our kwa Lek. W.]

3. Kwa Oman, was founded by a woman who was a wife of Nyikang. They do not appear to have a special function; live at Oget. — Diff.: was founded by a man named Oman; they help to build the house of Nyikang. Oman was found by Nyikang in the Shilluk country.

4. Kwa Mon, was founded by Mon; Mon was found in the Shilluk country

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by Nyikang and became his servant. They help to build the house of Nyikang at Wan. They live at Ogot. — Identical with 3?

5. Kwa Ju, or Kwa Jọk, was founded by Ju, a half-brother of Nyikang on his father's side. Ju built the house for Dak. The Kwa Ju build the three houses of Dak in Filo on the White Nile. When they have finished building the house, an ox is killed by a half-brother of the king.

They live at Mainam.

6. Kwa Nyadwai, was founded by Nyadwai, an ancient king of the Shilluks; he was the son of Tugo. They are found at Apio and Adit-deang. They help to build the house of the king. — The son of Nyadwai was a servant of Abudok.

7. Kwa Gwar, was founded by Gwar, a servant of king Dokot. They build the houses of Dokot in three villages. They give the skins of Mrs. Gray's waterbuck to the king. Their village is Chet-Gwok.

8. Kwa Nyikang, was founded by Nyikang, a servant of king Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is Fakang (the village of Kang). — Diff.: it was founded by Olam, a servant of Nyikang. Olam was captured by Nyikang in the *river*, and brought out. Nyikang settled him in the country. Olam is said to have been a man of tremendous appetite.

9. Ñupo, was founded by a hippo-hunter named *Ñupo*. He was found near Duleib Hill by king Abudok. The name *Ñupo* means to walk in a stealthy manner. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara.

10. Kwa Reṭ (or riṭ, i. e. king), was founded by Nyikang. They all go to the crowning of a king. Their village is Filo.

11. Kwa Tuki, was founded by a *person* that Nyikang *discovered by the river*. They taught the Shilluks to build the tuki (hearth-stones). It is made of three small pillars of mud built in a triangular shape. On the tuki the cooking vessel is placed. Before the Shilluks were taught to build the tuki, they used to dig a little hole in the ground for the fire. The Kwa Tuki help to care for the cattle of Nyikang. They live at Didigo.

12. Kwa Chwal, was founded by Chwal, who was found in the Shilluk country by Nyikang. They live in *Fope* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: Chwal was found on his way here.

13. Kwa Jok Nyikang; he had a Dinka wife, her people founded this division. They live at Ojodo, and help to build the house of Dak. — Diff.: it was founded by a Dinka, who was the son of Gok, and came of his own free will.

14. Kwa Tugo, was founded by Tugo, a foreigner. They say he was an Arab. Nyikang married Tugo's sister, and her brother followed her.

15. Kwa Ojilo, was founded by *Ojilo*, a servant of Nyikang. He taught the

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Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the tuki. They live at *Fopo* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fopo* Nyikang. — Diff.: Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyikang. Vide *11*.

16. Kwa Ogüti, was founded by *Güti,* a servant of Nyikang. He came into this country. They live at Twara and tear down the old houses of Nyikang.

17. Kwa Dāk, was founded by Dak, a servant of Nyikang. They cut the first Owra stalks for the house of Nyikang; they live at Owichi. — Diff.: Dak was the son of Nyikang; they build the house of Abudok.

18. Kwa Oshọllọ, was founded by Oshollo, a servant of Odak. They build the houses of Odak, and live at Malakal. — Diff.: Oshollo was the son of Dak; they build the house of Oshollo, and also the king's house.

19. Kwa Ñebiyo, was founded by Nyikang's blacksmith *(biyo)*. He furnishes the name for skilled workmen. They live at Nyelwak, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fopo* Nyikang. Each year they give the king dried hippo meat.

20. Kwa Güya, was founded by a man who once sat near Nyikang like a buzzard watching for meat. They live at Nyelwal and help to build the house of Nyikang.

21. Kwa Obọgọ, was founded by Obogo, a servant of Nyikang that had come with him. When they arrived at the Nile, the current was blocked up with sudd, so that they could not find a crossing. Then Obogo told Nyikang to kill him. He was consequently thrust with a spear. When his blood touched the sudd, it parted, and a clear passage was furnished for Nyikang and his party. Obogo's self-sacrifice took place "at the end of the earth." They live in *Fopo* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. Vide 51.

22. Kwa Ogọk, was founded by Ogok, a servant of Nyikang. They got their name from the fact that they were the herders of the sacred cow that Nyikang got from the river. They are found at Wau.

23. Kwa Ñewwal ("the crawlers"), used to be a part of No. 10, but Nyikang became angry with them and said they could no longer belong to the Kwa Rot. They help to build the house of Nyikang and furnish hippo meat to the king. — Diff.: it was founded by Uwal, who was a member of No. 17. The division was effected peaceably, because the Kwa Dok had become too large for convenience. They help to build the house of Chal. Their residence is at Tonga.

24. Kwa Okẹl, was founded by people that Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They first dug in the ground. They help in building the house of Nyikang. When a king is crowned, the chief of this division gives one of his daughters to the king. — Remark. This division seems to be the same as Hofmayer's

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Kwa Okal, of whom he says, "They have come from the Bahr Ghasal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang. But a crime which they committed became the cause of their clan being decimated. They became common Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they had to pay a girl to the king. This tribute is repeated at each new election. The girl is called nya *Kwer"* (i. e. girl of the authorities, girl of taxes). Vide also *15*.

25. Kwa Lüŋ, or Ochö, was founded by Ocho, the son of Lobo, a servant of Abudok, who was found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Abudok, their residence is in Owichi. — Diff. it was founded by Ochola, the husband of Lobo; they were the parents of Ocho; servants of Nyikang.

26. Kwa Büin (Büiŋ?), was founded by foreigners who have come in. To become a member in good standing it was necessary for the member of each family to give a daughter to the king. The ancestors of the division were strangers who married Shilluk women and took up residence in the Shilluk country. They are found at Nyigir.

27. Kwa Odöŋ; are the same as 23 (?) Are found at Yonj.

28. Kwa Ḏọkọt, was founded by *Ḏọkọt*, a servant of Dak; they were found in the Sobat region by Nyikang. According to some they are the descendants of Dokot. They build the house of Dak. Their residence is at *Gur*.

29. Kwa Ñimgiŋ, was founded by *Ñimgiŋ*, who was found here by Nyikang, who married his daughter. They live in Gur.

30. Kwa Owọn, was founded by a man who tried to deceive Nyikang. The name Owon means deceiver. They are servants of Nyikang, and help in building his house. Nyikang brought them from a distance; they live in *Fago Nyikang*.

31. Kwa Orfiŋ, was founded by *Orfiŋ*, whom Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the houses of Nyikang and Dak. Their residence is in Nigo and Wubo.

32. Kwa Wiö, was founded by a man who tried to hide all the fish of a certain kind *(ochoro)* from Nyikang. When Nyikang asked for them, he said there were none; but his treachery was found out. If any of this division eat of this kind of fish, he will die. They are found at Tonga and furnish fish and other water animals to the king. They also help in building the house of Nyikang.

33. Kwa Ñikhino, was founded by a man that Nyikang found near Tonga. They live at Tonga, and help to build the house of Nyikang.

34. Kwa Nal, was founded by Nal, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak that used to be on the mission ground at Doleib Hill. They are found at Obai and *Abijop*.

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35. *Kwa Dwai*, we founded by Dwai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak an are found at *Fope* Nyikang. — Diff.: Dwai was a servant of Nyikang. He was a Nuba, who came into the country and was taken by Nyikang.

[This last remark is probably right, as the Nubians are generally addressed: Nyidwai.]

36. *Kwa Agido*, as founded by *Agido*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a foreigner that Nyikag found here. They live in Obuwa, and help to build the house of Nyikang. —Diff.: they build the house of Ocholle in Ditong.

37. *Kwa Nijwai*, as founded by a Dinka who came into the Shilluk country. They live at Obai, ad build the house of Dak.

38. *Kwa Nikiggo*, as founded by *Nikiggo*, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him in this contry. They build the house of Nyikang; their residence is at Didigo.

39. *Kwa Doi*, was founded by *Adui*, a Dinka, who was a servant of Abudok. They are found at Oichi. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang.

40. *Kwa Okwai*, as founded by Okwai, an ancient fisherman found in this country by Nyikang. They live at Adodo and build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: he was a Dinka, and was found by Dowat.

41. *Kwa Jalo*, was founded by Jalo, a servant of Odak. They live at Aditdoang, and build the house of Odak. — Diff.: he was a son of Dowat.

42. *Kwa Ogwat*, as founded by Ogwat, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak. Tuga is their home.

43. *Kwa Omal*, was founded by Omal, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak; their residence is at Malakal. — Diff.: They are the same as No. 2, and should not be counted as a separate division.[1]

44. *Kwa Wai*, was founded by *Wai*, who crowned Nyikang. Wang was found in the Shilluk country. They live at Okun and Dur; they have a part in the crowning of the king.

45. *Kwa Okijo* was founded by *Okijo*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the country by the latter. They live at Kakugo, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: They build the house of Dak.

46. *Kwa Dowat*, was founded by Dowat, a servant of Dak. They are the chief of the servants of Dak; they live at Filo.

47. *Kwa Ok*, was founded by Oka, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him on the bank of the river in the Shilluk country. They build the house of Nyikang. Their home is Arumbwat.

48. *Kwa Tyilo*, was founded by *Oyido*, a servant of Nyikang, found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is in

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[1] They may, however, be a subdivision of 2, as Omal means "descendant of Mal."

Pogo Nyikang. — Diff: Nyikang brought Oyodo from a distance.

49. Kwa Okęgi, was founded by *Okęgą*, a servant of Nyikang. He was brought from the Nuba country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is at Detwok. — Diff.: he was found in the Shilluk country.

50. Kwa Mŏŏ, was founded by *Omŏŏ*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They live at Adit-deang.

51. Kwa Obọn, was founded by *Obọn*, a servant of Nyikang. He was found in the Shilluk country. He ate the meat cleaned off the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyelwal. — Diff.: Obon was brought here by Nyikang.

52. Kwa Chwai ("soup"),[1] was founded by Chwai, a servant of Nyikang, who was found here. Their functions are the same as the preceding, except that when an ox of Nyikang is killed, they get the soup. They live at Nyelwal.

53. Kwa Rịŋ, ("meat"), was founded by *Rịŋ*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the Shilluk country. At the killing of an ox of Nyikang they get the meat.

54. Kwa Pyen ("skin"), was founded by *Opyen*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They get the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyelwal.

55. Kwa Wich ("head"), was founded by *Owich*, a servant of Nyikang found in the *Luri*-country (Kordofan). They get the head of Nyikang's cattle. Their home is at Nyelwal. — Diff.: *Wich* was a Dinka.

56. Kwa Ṣhịn, ("intestines"), was founded by *Ṣhịn*, a servant of Nyikang. They get the intestines of Nyikang's cattle; live at Nyelwal.

57. Kwa Nọkọŋ, was founded by *Ojọk*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is Tonga.

58. Kwa Nyịjẹk, was founded by *Ojẹk*, a servant of Dak. They help in building the house of Nyikang. Their home is Dur and Obai.

59. Kwa Aρịdọ, was founded by *Aρịdọ*, a servant of Dak. They make a preparation of bean leaves and give it to the king, who puts it on his body. They are found at Dur. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang, they help to build the house of Nyikang at Malakal.

60. Kwa Awit, was founded by *Awit*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They taught the Shilluks to make fire by friction. At the crowning of the king they make fire. They are found at Foton.

61. Kwa Nyeṭ, are descendants of Nyikang. They are the royal class. The king is chosen from among them. Their village is Tejin. Vide *50*.

62. Kwa Jọpi, was founded by *Ojọpi*, a Nuba, who came into the country. He was a servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is near Tonga.

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[1] These and some of the following as well as of the preceding names are apparently not really names of ancestors.

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63. Kwa Odgin, was founded by *Odgè*, a servant of Abudok. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara. He came into the country.

64. Kwa Wobo, was founded by *Wobo*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a brave man, who was never afraid. When the cows of Nyikang got into his durra, he watched them, and killed one cow. Nyikang told him that something bad would happen to him. As a result his village was attacked by the Nuers, and a large part of his descendants were killed; so it is a small division now. Wubo was very skilful in the use of weapons. — They do not rub ashes on their faces and bodies. They help to build the house of Nyikang. They live at Ajwago.

65. Kwa Nikki, was founded by Kir, a servant of Nyikang. He was found at a distance. At the death of the king they beat the drum. They live in Gur. — Diff. he was found in the river by Nyikang.

66. Kwa Yo, was founded by *Yo*, a servant of Odak. They help to build the house of Odak. Their village is Obwo. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang; they help to build the house of Ochollo.

67. Kwa Gon, was founded by *Opon*, a servant of Odak. He was from the Anywak country. They help to build the house of Odak. Their residence is at Tonga.

68. Kwa Mwal, was founded by Mwal, a servant of Nyikang. He crawled away from battle. They do not eat of the flesh on the knee-joint. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is at Opot. Vide 53.

69. Kwa Kam, was founded by Kam, a servant of Nyikang. He was a fish which Nyikang caught and changed into a man. They are found in *Fopo* Dwai. — Diff.: he was brought in by Dak, and was his servant.

70. Kwa Ohan, was founded by *Ohan*, a son of Dakot. They help to build the house of Dak. Their home is at *Fopo* Dwai. — Diff.: he was of Arabic descent. When a king is crowned, and the king starts to Tonga, they sweep the beginning of the road with a hoe.

71. Kwa Bol, was founded by Bol, a servant of Nyikang. He was an Anywak. They are at Mainam. They help to build the house of Nyikang. — Bol once fought against Mol.

72. Kwa Nyin, was founded by *Oyin*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells.

73. Kwa Nyin, was founded by *Oyin*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells. They live at Fashoda.

74. Kwa Nopon, was founded by *Opon*, a servant of Nyikang. He was sent on an errand by Nyikang and forgot; thus he got his name. They are found in *Fakoi*; they help to build the house of Nyikang in *Fakoi*.

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30. The Shilluk kings.

1. *Nyikaṅ* 2. *Dak* 3. *Odak*
4. *Akwöt* 5. *Odak* 6. *Dụọkọ*
7. *Bwọch* 8. *Dịkọ* 9. *Abudok* (queen)
10. *Tụgọ* 11. *Okwọn, Okọn* 12. *Ñakwọ*
13. *Ñaḍọtö* 14. *Kwọn* 15. *Ñakwọchọ*
16. *Anụ* 17. *Akwọt* 18. *Awin*
19. *Akọch* 20. *Ñadọk* 21. *Kwatkẹr*
22. *Ajaṅ* 23. *Kwaṅ gọkwọn* 24. *Yụr*
25. *Akọl* 26. *Kür* 27. *Padịt.*

A. E. S. has the following list (according to Father Banholzer at Lul, and Dr. Giffen at Doleib Hill).

1. *Nyakang* 2. *Dag* 3. *Odage*
4. *Kudit* 5. *Dokodo* 6. *Boj*
7. *Tugo* 8. *Nya Dwai* 9. *Nya Abdoko*
10. *Muko* 11. *Nya To* 12. *Nyakong*
13. *Okun* 14. *Nya Gwutun (Nkwaji)* 15. *Nyadok*
16. *Akwot* 17. *Abdoko* 18. *Awin*
19. *Akoj* 20. *Nedok (Nyadok)* 21. *Kwad keir*
22. *Ajang* 23. *Gwin kun (Kwon kon)* 24. *Yor Adodit*
25. *Akol* 26. *Kur Wad Nedok* 27. *Fadiet Wad kwad keir.*

31. The Burial of a King.

539*

Rįṅ ba nį ukwą, nį kįp wąt. Ko ģwok chwųp, ba fųyni ykęh, ba rėr, ba [illegible]

[illegible]

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[1] [illegible] T., and [illegible] M., i. e. from T. unto M. [2] [illegible]

*539 *wuṭí de nam, ka ygi ng twiyò u ƒì kwe ge yíjì. Ka yâ kwon kwe yi ygi [illegible], ka ygi a twṳye, e mede kí jò kí yeja, kí jam [illegible], ka gę ìgwe nam.*

*539 When the king disappears (that is, dies),[1] his body is laid in a hut. A cow is speared, its skin removed, and cut into strips. When they have finished this,
766 trees are brought, they are hewn with a certain ax, and then they are driven
643 into the earth. With the strips (of skin) they unite these trees to a bier. When the bier is ready, they bring the body of the king — but without the people knowing it — lay it on the bier, and put it in the hut again. The body is adorned with a leopard-skin. Two girls are brought, and are put into the hut, where the body of the king is. One holds his head, and one holds his feet. Each of the girls is given tobacco and a pipe. Now the hut is walled (all openings are walled with mud), so that there is no way for the air to enter. They (the two girls) remain in the hut, and die there. The people wait two months; about this time the worms (who have eaten the flesh of the three bodies) have turned into bugs, and they come crawling out through the roof of the hut. Now (the people know that) the flesh (of the three corpses) is consumed and only the bones remain. Then all the chiefs of the Shilluk country are summoned, beginning from Tüngo,[2] and reaching to Mwomo; all, all the chiefs. And they come, each one brings a cow; when they come near Fashoda, they gather these cows at one place; and the cows are speared. Now it is said publicly, "The king has disappeared." And the people weep. One of the cows is skinned, the skin is tanned and made into a bag. The bones of the king are put into this bag; and they are buried in a secret place. But still the mourning goes on, all, all, all the people mourn. And spears are gathered, a great many; they are tied together, and put into a boat, and cattle-bells are put into the boat, and beads, and pots, and dishes, and gourds. And two people are brought, a man and a woman, fine people, they are laid into the boat, they are bound, their hands and their feet are bound; one is laid in the back part, and one in the front part (of the boat). The boat is rowed into the middle of the river, there the boat is pierced, so that water enters into it. The men who row the boat, get into another boat, and the boat which they have pierced, sinks down with the people in it, and all the goods, together with the people, perish in the river.

32. The Man who took the Law into his own Hand.

*539 *Jal [illegible], en rḁ, chwola Bok Dit Ajak Nyá Dḁ̈ing, ka gę gḁ̈ng. Bok Ajak; wat kiḁ̈ng chwola Obeiny. A goyo kí Ayik. Ka gę gḁ̈ng kí Doro Nakwachy. Ka wat kiḁ̈ng [illegible], ka kil gi Ayik kí [illegible], ki ò [illegible]. Ka Ayadḁ̈ng [illegible] gi rḁ, ka chwola [illegible], e [illegible] Ayik Dḁ̈ḁ̈.*

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[1] Of a king it is not said: "he dies", but "he disappears". — It is said: the king does not die of his own accord, but when he is very old, or sick, and the people think that his death is near at hand, his chief wife strangles him with a cloth.
[2] or Tonga.

A certain man, a prince, whose name was Buk Do Jǫk Bein Dänyimo, 539*
carried on a law-suit. Buk was a good man; he had a slave, whose name was 692
Oshangǫ. He carried on the law-suit with Ayik, in the court of king Nyakwachǫ. 696
And his servant ran in front of him (or: came instead of him, viz. of his master),
and was stabbed by Ayik with a spear, so that he died. (As a punishment for 682
this misdeed) the village Ogwǫrǫ (which was the village of Ayik) was destroyed by the king; the children (of the village, or of Ayik) were caught, and Ayik was brought (banished) to Detang.

33. A killed Crocodile is the Property of the Magistrate.

Kęt mak nam, ka tįrų kęlę¹, ka tįrų winy gęt, ka kęl malo pam, ka rech e bįnę, 539*
ka kęl mąęo ki rech, ka ji ŋęlo, ka ji chämę. Ka wąn rä, ka mąęo bįnę, ka tįrų mąęo, ka nwǫ ka kęl, ka e mąky ki ŋięn. Ka tįrų wąla wąk, ka tęgę ik e dįnę, ka ŋięn kęl gę wąk, ka nwǫ nęki. Ka tįrų kä wąk, ka jäke bįnę, ka gę pęchę: nwǫ a gwäk adi? Kįne: e nęk! Kįne: dą ą ya kąę? Kįne: nut. Yech! Ka yęk. Ka e ka: ŋäli, kä gęk kęgę. Ka kęę pach kęgę, ka tįrų bįnę chą, ka nwǫ ŋäl yi jäkę, nwǫ kęgę. Ka e chwąę ji, ka jäk dwol, ka e chämę; tįrų ka: ę, nwǫ ǫn dęn. Dąkį mąkę ka nwǫ mąkę kwǫn, ka chäm gį tįrų pam.

Ka jäkę e chwǫlę, ka tįrų bįnę, ka e pęchę kįne: wone gęk jäk, ya peke gįche mąkę, gwǫ kwǫne ki gęy nwǫ kä; kįne: ě gin ŋäi? Ya pęne kwąl! Kįne: ę, kichi wąn! Kįne: ę, fąęę nwǫ a chäm ki gęy nwǫ? Kįne: ę, e chämę, nwǫle nwǫ kęnę. Kįne: ę, chäkä! Ka e kęgę, kįne: gę ka chwǫlę. Kįne: ę, wǫ kä Bwǫkädę. Kįne: ę, wǫ kęgę.

Ka gę kęgę, ka gę wąę Bwǫkädę, kä gę pęnę, kįne: wąę (wąę), gę ŋäli yį kwęp kwąje ǫnę; kwąl e chäm ǫ jo, kwąl kęgę. Kįne: ę, gę chwǫnę ką, nwǫ? Kįne: wąę, kichi gin. Ŋą e ka: gęn (yęęl), kąę chäl ki ŋąk gę pęnę, ki ŋięn! Ka e bįnę, ka e chwǫlę ŋąk gę pęnę, ki ŋięn; ka gę kęl kęle rą, a tįre kiet², ka gę rąmę.

It was at the time when the river was barred (shut up for fishing), and the 539*
people slept on the river bank, and the net was sunk down on the bottom of [626]
the river, and the fish came, and the net caught fish, and the people cooked 622
and ate them. And when it grew morning, the fishermen came, and the 687
people went fishing again, then a crocodile was speared, and it seized a man; the people became afraid, and ran away, but those among them who were brave, remained; they brought the man who had been bitten by the crocodile out on the river bank. Then they killed the crocodile, and went out of the river (taking the crocodile with them). The chiefs came, and asked, "What about the crocodile?" They answered, "It is killed." They asked again, "But where is it?" Answer, "It is still here." The chiefs said, "Skin it!" And it was

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[1] "When the river was caught, and the people went".

[2] that the people might look.

*539 622 687 skinned. The chiefs said, "Cut it up! It is the property of the magistrate." So the meat was put into the house of the magistrate. All the people came; the crocodile was cooked by he chief, the crocodile of the magistrate. He called all the people, and invited the neighbouring chiefs too; they ate the crocodile. The people said, "Ah, this crocodile is good!" Some days later they again caught a crocodile, and it was eaten by the people.

But the district chief had heard about the matter. He called all the chiefs of his district together; they came, and he began, "You chiefs, I want to ask you something, it is the thing which you got from the *river* there." They asked, "What do you mean?" He replied, "I am asking for some animal you killed." They said, "We do not know!" He asked, "Why, has not a crocodile been eaten here in somebody's village?" They answered, "Yes, that is true, it has been eaten by the little children." He said, "Make amends for it!" But they refused, saying, "We will not do that." Then he said, "Well, we will go to Fashoda (to bring the matter before the king)." They said, "All right, let us go!" So they went, and arrived at Fashoda. There they told their case, saying (the district-chief speaks first), "My lord, I am in difficulty about some matter, the matter of a certain man, he has eaten a killed animal, an animal belonging to the magistrate." The king asked the accused one, "Why did you eat it, man?" He answered, "My lord, I did not know." The king said, "Why! go, and make amends! You are to give ten cows and a man." The chief brought what was asked, into the enclosure of the king, so that all people heard it, and learned to be careful.[1]

34. How Fashoda became the Royal Residence.

*539 *Ke jäl ręj Tugo, jäl a pädǫ, chwǫle Ñowajo. Ke wąį bę gę nį bęnę, gę bęr*[2] *gę wąįę chöt, bę gę nį gwęjǫ wįj pach bį chääų. Ke ręj e kiiny kine: bęk, gę ęį ... wąį, a ... gin gwęjǫ? Kine: ... pän gęi. A gör pän gęi, a Pachödǫ; a dǫgę Tugǫ pęjǫ, a kiiny Tugǫ kine: fän gęi ... chäjǫ á pà ręjä! A ... nį ręjä ... A ... á ... a kiiny kine: bę wąjǫ ... a ...*

539 643 173 King Tugo reigned, he reigned in his own village, which was called Nyowajo. And there were oxen, they used to come (to some place), they were oxen without horns, called chod, they used to dig the ground of that place with their heads every day. When the king saw that, he said, "My! why are the oxen always digging the ground?" He said, "They like this place." So a village was built there, it was Fashoda. Tugo moved from his place into this new village. He said, "This village shall always remain the village of election (the village of the king)." Since that time the people elect the king in it. When the king (Tugo) had finished his reign, he said, "My son shall be elected!" And he was elected. 539 643 173

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[1] Crocodiles belong to the king ("to the authority, magistrate"); nobody is allowed to eat them without permission of the king or the district chief. Here the chiefs of the villages try to usurp the privilege of the district chief.

[2] From bįdǫ "to be".

35. A Law-suit about Dowry.

Kęn kąį jī lą pāčį, ko jī kęfą, ko jī yįęko yot. Ko yęno gwį chīgį, ko ąāŋ a' pāčį, kįwe: yā yįęką kūchī jām! Kįwe: kūchī jam kūchī yįn!"[1] Kįwe: yi ūąįī kįęą? Kįwe: yį waņ an? Kįwe: yį wāu. Kęyo yąį kūchī yįn! Kįwe: kįyaną kucho yin? Kįwe: jal ęną amąn? Kįwe: jal ęną ūato. Kįwe: kucha jām! Ko jamo kwān. A. ūato, yi ve a yąm! ąąk yaąe ąęer? Ko jī kąįį lą gęn. Ko jī kęfą, ko vįį a yāt, ko gęn gęn kįwe: wuo, wą chāąį kā ūāl ān. Kįwe: wu kąma kwąf ǫāą? Wą kąma kwąfo ąąk. Aįį, gįmua! Kįwe: ą, wuo, wį kį, cha wą pąįį ąo kį kwąfo ąąk. ąį ą kąįt, cha ąąk kąįį. A chįkā jā, a chįn jā, a kąmā kwąįą, a kwān jam, ko ąąk yįęko kūchī gęn. Ko jī yįyą, jįk ąįkį; ąą chako kąr yan. Ę, arą kūaį gęn. Kįwe: wu ąą yo ąąą; ąą ąąk kucho gęn kįįā, ąą ūąįī kūąį. Kęn ąoį ūnin, a kūn kąūkā. Ko vįį a ąįką chąą, kįwe: yā, kįnan, yi ko wāi jāl a kęr! yi ve kįvo ąąk ąąą? Kwįfī wuch! kįį, chūkī kį ąāą! jal, ko yá[3] wuch kį ąąk ūūch. Ko a wąįą kį ąāą, ko ąą kąįį, ko ąąą yąn gwį chįgį, kįwe: yā chūkī kį ąāą, kąn gwį anan. Dįch! A kąįį, a ąąąą wąąą, a chamį ąąą gwį, a kęn, a ąąįre ąāą ąąą gęn. Ko ąą yąt chąį, kįwe: dįch, wā kā wāt. A kąį gęn, a kąī ąąk, ko ąāą wąkā gęn. 539*

At a certain time the people went to ask for indemnities, they went to the village (where the debtor lived), and sat down. The people of the village assembled. When the man began to ask, "I want indemnities for certain goods," the debtor replied, "I do not know anything about goods (which I owe you.)" The man asked, "Have you not been told?" He replied, "By whom?" The man said, "By your father." The debtor said again, "I do not know of anything concerning debts." The man said, "Why do you not know it?" Then it was asked, "Who is the judge?" The answer was, "That man is judge." He said, "Count the goods (which you claim from this man)." All the goods were enumerated. The judge said the the debtor, "Man, why do you deny? Is it not true what he said?" And the people went to bring the matter before the king. They found the king, and the matter was told. They said, "Our lord, we have come with this man." The king asked, "What a palaver do you have?" They answered, "We have a palaver about cattle." "Well," said the king, "tell me!" The accuser said, "Well, our lord, we came to ask him (the debtor) about the matter of the cattle; but he refused; he said, he did not know anything about cattle. So I assembled the people, and when the people were assembled, I talked to him, and enumerated the goods, and the cows (which I said he owed me) were found right; the people consented (to my statement), the old people. He refused again to acknowledge it." After 539* 691 686 692

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[1] ą is here conditional: "when".

[2] "the place, i. e. the matter, of goods is not known by me".

[3] = yi á "you will".

* 539 that the king said (turning to the accused one), "Well, now you also tell your
691 talk!" He said, "My father died while I was a little child; but the cows, I do
not know anything about them. I was not told; that is the reason, therefore I
686 refused to give them." Then the king gave his judgment thus, "Well, so it is,
692 you are a man who refused (to give what is due); why did you refuse to give
the people their cows? Your matter is bad. Go, and pay a girl as amends, and you (turning to the accuser), man, give him five cows!" The debtor gave the girl, he brought her to the village (of the accuser). When the people of the village had assembled, he (the accuser) said, "I have been indemnified with a girl; thus is the matter now." The people say, "All right." Then he goes to strain beer; and he calls the people. They come; he presents the girl to the people to be examined (whether it is a sufficient pay). And they consent, saying, "Very well, we are friends now."

They go away, the cows are brought, and the girl is recognized by them.

[A man has married somebody's daughter; after some time the girl, his wife, dies; now the father of the girl has to return part of the dowry which has been paid to him for his daughter. But in the meantime the father of the deceased wife has died too, and his eldest son has become his heir. The husband of the dead wife goes to this man, the brother of his dead wife, and wants his cattle back. But this man denies knowing anything about the matter, pretending his father did not tell him before his death. They therefore go before the king, who decides: the heir has to give his brother-in-law another girl instead of the deceased one; and in return the brother-in-law is to give the heir five five head of cattle, which is about half the usual price for a wife.]

V. HISTORICAL TRADITIONS.

36. Nyadwai.

[illegible] 539*

[illegible]

A certain prince called Nyadwai, was fishing. And he wanted a certain fish, the fish of Ogam (a fish which Ogam had caught). Ogam asked, "Why (should I give my fish to the prince)?" The people replied, "Is he not a prince?" Ogam said, "By whom will he ever be elected? He has such a big head!" The people replied, "Well, all right (do as you think best)." He refused. 173 539*

But Nyadwai was elected king, while Ogam was at Manyo. There he heard the talk, "Nyadwai has been elected." When he heard it, he said to himself, "Ocam, wa?" (But Nyadwai) said (to himself), "This remark, Ogam!" Some time later Nyadwai sent word, "Bring Ogam!" Ogam was brought; the king gave him cattle, built him a village, he married a woman, and his village became large; he got many children. But one day he was called by Nyadwai, Nyadwai killed him and all his children, and he destroyed his village.

37. Golit.

[illegible] 539*

The prince Golit came, and settled at the mouth of the river Pijo; he said (to the chief there), "I want to settle (on the island) in the middle of the river." But the chief who ruled there refused, saying, "I myself like the island in the river, I refuse!" Then the prince gave him a son (slave), and so that the chief sprinkled the boats with water (that is, gave them permission to go on the island). The prince went on the island, and settled down there to steal cows. He sent his son to capture people (and their cattle), he captured all the people 173 539*

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[1] instead of the usual ḍ.

[2] "the chief of the magistrates", i. e. the ruling chief.

173 *539 there, and after that went to Lwangdong, and captured this village, he brought all the cows into his village. After that he brought Dinkas of Ngok,[1] and settled them in the place (of the village Lw.), he built them the village of Nyajith; and those people too used to steal the cattle of the people.

38. Nyimo.

*539 *Ka nyį Ńimg, gę bį ą nyį [illegible], ka gę ną chwǫl, ka gę ną ryęch,[2] ka lafe wǫ gęn, ka lafe Ńimg ną kǫp, kepo yį ą nyį gęn. Ka Ńakwach e [illegible], ka ną dągę kęn.*

Ka pęrę kęgę, ą tǫdǫ, Otudi, gę nyį Ńakwachǫ. Ka e jǫgę e dįch, dę ba wur, ka dągę ną kǫp yį [illegible]; a kǫbį nyį kęne: ą tich adi? A [illegible] bį [illegible], [illegible] gęn [illegible], [illegible] ka [illegible]; gę[3] ną kįn gį)[3] [illegible].

173 *539 The prince Nyimo was, together with another prince, invited to a meal. They had their clubs with them, and (in the course of the festival) the club of Nyimo was taken away from him by force, it was taken away by that other prince. When his father, king Nyakwach (who was also present at the festival) saw that, he was very angry,[4] and he went home alone.

He built for his son a big village, Otudi, this was to be the village of the son of Nyakwach. And he (the son) reigned well, but he was a coward. His cattle used to be robbed by his brothers. The king said, "Ah, what is to be done?" He gave him a great number of slaves to protect him, on account of his fear. They were to help him.

39. Nyadoke.

*539 *A nyį Ńadǫkǫ, a jǫgǫ, a kǫbį kęne: ą, ya gęre [illegible] [illegible]! A gęre [illegible] Pǫbǫ. Wago [illegible] [illegible] Dǫgǫ! A gęre pęrę Dǫgǫ. A [illegible] gęn bį Dǫgǫ, a jǫgǫ, a ną [illegible] [illegible], a ną [illegible] yį Dǫgǫ, a ną [illegible] yį Dǫgǫ. Ka Dǫgǫ ną [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] ([illegible]) Dǫgǫ. Ka ną [illegible] [illegible], ka Dǫgǫ ną [illegible] bį jamg, [illegible] kį [illegible], ka [illegible] ną [illegible]. A ną [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], ka [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], ka Dǫgǫ ną [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].*

173 *539 Nyadöke was elected. While he was reigning, one day he said, "Well, I will build my village in the bush!" He built the village of Pöbo. Again he said, "Let me reside beside the Nubians!" He built a village in the Nubian country. He lived together with the Nubians, being their king. He used to kill elephants, the Nubians used to ask him for the elephants' meat, he gave it to them, and they ate it. So he was the king of the Nubians. — When the Nubians are without rain, they are accustomed to put on all their adornments, and go out into the

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[1] *Ngǫk*, a Dinka-District south of the Sobat.

[2] "and they were called, and they were invited."

[3] *gę* relates to the slaves, it has therefore the meaning of a plural.

[4] because his son allowed his club to be taken away from him.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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bush; then it begins to rain. — Nyadöke used to dig holes for catching elephants, and the elephants tumbled into the holes. Thus the Nubians were satisfied, he continued to be a good king.

40. King Dokot.

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Rit Dǫkǫt kà è mǫ̈nǫ, mǫ̈nǫ fǫte Dǫnǫ, ka gǫ̈l yi Dǫnǫ, Dǫnǫ nį rǫ̈nǫ mal wiy kit. Ka e ko: bǫ̈h, dę Dǫnǫ a gǫ̈lį yán, y̨ thich adì? į rwi (yǫ) wá ţǫch! Ka ţǫy rǫ̈, ka e ko: yey kit! Ka kit e yǫch, ka dęgę kǫ̈ną fǫn. A mǫ̈gį Dǫnǫ, a kǫ̈l gǫ̈n, a gǫ̈ri gǫ pàrǫ̈, gǫ lęgę kǫ̈ną; a chǫ̈gį nįne fǫn gǫ̈i gǫ Adǫkǫ̈ną.

A kǫ̈lį mǫ̈r, a nwanì gǫ bwǫnǫ, ka bwong mǫ̈gį, kǫ̈lį gǫ̈n, a lęgę kǫ̈ną, a gǫ̈rį pach, gǫn Awarejwǫk. Ka Chǫlį kǫ̈ną kįne: a rǫ̈ge ǫ̈ng, a rǫch mǫ̈ną? A ko kįne: bǫ̈h! Kįne: Chǫl, bęnę kwǫ̈pį ànàn? A kwanǫ mǫ̈r, a lǫ̈nǫ gǫ̀ nǫ̈m, ka Chǫlę e wanǫ kį yù mǫ̈r kį bǫ̈le pàrǫ̈.

Pay mǫkǫ chwǫlǫ́ Oǹǫ̈gǫ̀, ka Chǫl nį kǫtǫ̀ kį jǫr, ka Chǫle nį chǫ̈ţǫ̀. Ka rǫ̈ng ę rǫ̈nǫ̀, Chǫ̈l dę chǫ̈ţę; a rǫ̈nǫ Akwǫt. Ka Akwǫt e mǫ̈nǫ̈; ka lǫ̀ǹ chǫ̈ţǫ̀, ka e lǫ̈nǫ̀, ka e ko: bǫ̈h, wá gǫ̈gǫ̀ dǫ̈? A lǫ̈nǫ̈ bǫl Oǹǫ̈gǫ̀, a chǫ̈nǫ̈ bǫ̈ne Dǫkǫt, a pyǫje gin kįne: mǫr e lǫ̈nǫ̀ kǫ̈n? A kǫbį jal mǫkǫ kįne: y̨ thich adì? Kįne: y̨ dwǫ̈nì nǫ̀m! Kįne: bǫ̈h, Akwǫt, dę bá gǫ̈n? yi kę wane kęję? A kǫbį kįne: yá bà wáǹ! Kįne: àǹ! A kwan yǫ̈ţ, a kwan gǫ̈n. A kǫ̈l gǫk, a mak gwǫ̀nǫ̀ Oǹǫ̈gǫ, a kǫ̈l gwǫ̀nǫ̀ mǫkǫ, a mǫ̈gį Wajwǫk, a kǫl gwǫ̀nǫ̀ mǫko, a mǫ̈ge yi Adǫkǫ̈ną, a kǫl gwǫ̀nǫ̀ mǫkǫ, a kęţį lęrę gǫ̈t, a lǫ̈nǫ, a chwǫ́p gwǫ̀nǫ̀. A kęţį Akwǫt fǫ̀n, a rǫ̈nǫ ţa pí, kà į chwǫ̈nǫ̀. Ka Chǫlę kǫ̈ną kįne: rįţ tǫ̈k, ba bí kęţę! Ka chaǹ wąng mal, chaǹ e lǫ̈chǫ̀, ka rįţ lęng, ka mǫr kǫ̈lę kį ţa pí. A kǫbį kįne: thà lǫ̀ǹ! A kęţ lǫ̀ǹ, a mǫ̈nǫ Dǫ̈nǫ̈gǫl, a nǫ̈gǫ̀, a man dwǫ̈ǫle, ka gǫk e kǫ̈l kį mǫ̈nǫ̈. A mǫ̈nǫ Agǫ̈r, a mǫ̈nǫ̈į Chai, a mǫ̈k pan kǫ̈nǫ̀, a kǫbį Chǫlį kįne: a rǫ̈ge ǫ̈ng, a chǫ̈gǫ̀ kįpà lǫ̀ǹ? A ko: bǫ̈h, kwǫ̈pį, yina Chǫlį! A kwanǫ mǫ̈r, a lǫ̈nǫ gǫ̀ nǫ̀m.

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King Dokot went out to conquer, he went conquering into the Nubian country. But he failed to defeat the Nubians, because they used to escape upon their mountain. He said, "Why, the Nubians are too much for me! What shall I do? Well (he says to his people), make a pot ring!"[1] And a pot ring was made. Then he said, "Carry the mountain away!" So the mountain was carried away and put on the ground upside down. In this way he conquered the Nubians, he brought them (into the Shilluk country), he built them a village, and they became his subjects.[2] He called the name of this village Adǫkǫng.

He brought the silver pot[3] and swung it against (the army of) the strangers; thus he conquered the strangers, he brought them to his country, and they became his subjects; he built them a village, this is the village Awarejwǫk.

But the Shilluks said, "What a king is this, that he is always conquering?"[4]

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[1] a ring of grass, which is laid on the head for carrying water pots. The mountain was carried away like a water pot.

[2] This shows how Nubian colonies came into the Shilluk country.

[3] This pot is said to be an old heirloom, it was to be filled with "holy water" *(pi jwok)*, which was used for different religious rites. The possession of this pot was supposed to give fortune and victory.

[4] The Shilluks were tired of waging war, or they were jealous of the victories of the king.

173 *539 The king replied, "Why, yo Shilluks, is that your talk now?" He took the pot and thrust it (angrily) into the river. Thus the pot ("the way to the pot") was lost to the Shilluks in the front of the village of the king.

There was another village, called Oagogo; the Shilluks (of this village) fought with some foreign tribe, and were chased. Another king was elected, but again the Shilluks were chased. Then Akwot was elected, and Akwot went out to conquer (this tribe). But his army was defeated. When he came home, he exclaimed, "Why, what shall we do?" He came towards Oagogo, and the wives of Dakot, he asked them, „Where has the silver pot been thrown into the river?" Some man replied, "Why do you ask?" He said, "It is to be brought out from the river." The man exclaimed, "Oh dear, Akwot, is that true (is that what you are going to do)? Will you not miss the place where it lies?" The king said, "I shall not miss it." The man replied, "All right." They rowed boats, they rowed them towards the place where they were. Cows were brought, one cow was caught and given to the village of Oagogo, another cow was caught and given to Wajwok, another was given to *Adakong*.[1] Then another cow was brought, and the people went to the river, a prayer was spoken, the cow was speared (sacrificed), and Akwot went to the bottom of the river, he dived under the water; he stayed there a long time; the Shilluks said, "The king is away, he does not come back." The sun was rising, and when it began to sink, the king came from out of the water, he had brought the silver pot from the bottom of the river. He said, "Now raise an army!" The army was to defeat Dingjol (the Dinka country near Renk). They destroyed it, its children were captured, the cattle was taken away together with the women. He conquered Ager too, he conquered Chai (near Roseires), he defeated the whole country. When the Shilluks saw that, they said, "What king is that, that he is always continuing in warfare?" He replied, "Oh dear! is that now your talk, yo Shilluks?" He took the silver pot, and thrust it into the river.[2]

41. Nyakwach.

*539 *[illegible]*

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[1] The cows were offered as sacrifices, one by the village Oagogo, and so on.

[2] From that time the silver pot is irreparably lost to the Shilluks.

[3] "come to-morrow", that is, in future time.

[illegible] 539 6

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

When King Nyakwach reigned, he killed the children of (his brother) Nyadwai, because he feared their enmity; and his brothers who had been born by the women of Nyadwai's village, he also killed. Then he called out, "You, who are my real brothers, you people come!" The people came carrying their spears. When Nyakwach saw that, he was afraid and remained within his enclosure. Again he called out, "Come, you people!" And the people came to him. He asked them, "My children, how is it that you are walking thus (armed)?" They replied, "We are angry, why do you kill people?" He answered, "Why should I not kill them? I killed them because of their enmity, (and do you not remember that) their family chased us away? Therefore I have killed them. If at a future time they should have come to power, surely we should have been killed. Is it not for this reason that I killed them?" The people replied, "Well, oh, all right, their family has perished." Again they said, "Nyakwach, you formerly refused to be elected as king.[1] By whom should we have been avenged (if not by you)?" (Y) 539 *

The people returned home. Nyakwach said, "Restore the town wall; and my nephews, the children of my brothers, shall be called 'children of the king'." He called them (his nephews) to Fashoda.[2] They went, and he picked some from among them, and the rest he took to be chiefs of Fashoda.

A certain man (one of these nephews of the king) went one day and slept with

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[1] This seems to point to the preceding story.

[2] The chief town of the Shilluk country, and residence of the king.

173 the wives of the king. He paid the fine for adultery. But again he did an evil thing, and had to pay a fine. At last the king got tired of this, and he said,
*539 "Why, what is that? oh, never mind!" When this man once more did mischief, the king had all the cattle of that (man's) village seized and brought to Fashoda; so the village was left without a single cow.

The eldest son of this man (of the evildoer) went and found the cattle (of his father) in a pasture.[1] He separated those belonging to his father from the rest and drove them home. When the king heard that the cattle were away, he asked, "Why have the cattle been taken away?" So said Nyakwach. (When he heard that this same man's son had taken them) he exclaimed, "Why, what shall we do with this boy? oh, his affair is very bad! Well, never mind, let him go with them."

When the boy came home with his cattle, his father asked him, "From where has the cattle been brought?" He answered, "I have brought it from Fashoda." The father said, "All right." He assembled his sons and told them, "Kill this boy!" The people went away, they chased him, he ran away. And the pursuers came close to him, they were just near enough to stab him, then the boy (stumbled and) fell down. They told him, "Run!" (They did not want to kill him). But his eldest brother stabbed him, and killed him. When they came home, the father asked them, "Children, how is it? How did you deal with your brother?" They said, "He is killed!" The father asked, "By whom?" They answered, „By his eldest brother." The father exclaimed, "Why, my son has been killed by you!" He rose up, went into his hut, and remained there. He did not eat any food, he wept. And he came out again and assembled his sons, saying to the eldest, "My son, is it not you who killed my son? Your descendants shall always be killed by the spear! I thought you would protect your brother, and you have killed him!" Again he said, "Oh, I thought, you, the eldest son, had a heart which was wise! no, you are wicked."

Then he went to the cattle, he separated them: some he brought to another village, and some he hid.

41. The False Prophets.

*539 [illegible]

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[1] where they had been brought by the king's people.

[illegible] 535*

[illegible]

At a certain time the "kings" came, they used to dance (the dances of Nyikang); 173
one "king" called himself Okwa, one called himself Dak, and the third called himself Nyikang. And they came (into the villages of the Shilluks); the Shilluks 535*
used to pray to them, calling them "king", — it was in the time of king Ko—, and the people danced.[1] They (the "kings") went to Fashoda. The king said, "Why, what is the matter with these kings?" And they (the so-called kings) went, and took the wives of the king by force. The king was much perplexed, he was in great confusion. They stole cattle too. Then the king became very angry, he sang a war-song early in the morning, he tied his bead-necklaces round his neck, put his arm-rings on his arm, fastened bells about his wrist, he took a spear, he took a gun, and he went, he went towards them. And the man who called himself Dak he shot with the gun, he fell upon the ground and died. And the man "Okwa" was speared, and he died; the man who was called Nyikang fled, he turned towards the bush. Then the drum was beaten, and the people danced (for joy).

(About this time) a north wind blew, and the durra was burned, the Shilluks were seized with hunger. The people went to the Nuer country, to buy durra of the Nuers. And the Shilluks were beaten by the Nuers, in the time of this strong famine. The Shilluks say, ("In this time) some were starved, and some gave away their children for durra." — But when the next durra-harvest was brought, the people were relieved.

> [In the first part of this story it is related, how some impostors pretend to be the ancient kings, who have come into this world again; the people believe in them and pray to them, and the "false prophets" take advantage of this to rob the people, till their proceedings are brought to an end by the king.]

43. The Prince who refused to be King.

[illegible] 587

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[1] Thus worshipping them.

539 *[illegible]*

173 539 The oldest son of a king whose name was *Akoki*, was brought to be elected king. But he refused, and when he was informed secretly that they were going to elect him by force, he went away and fled to the Nubian country, he with two of his brothers. And (during their flight, or in the Nubian country) they used to pound dura for food; the youngest of them was told (compelled) to bring water. (When they had gone) one prince (in the Shilluk country) said, "Let them stay there (in the Nubian country)." And they learned the Nubian language.

[68 301] He came home again, and built himself a village, which he called Pwot ("homes"). He settled there, but he still continued saying, "No, I refuse to be chief; I don't want to." So his son was elected, and he reigned. He carved bracelets out of elephant-tusks.[1] When the king (at Fashoda) heard this, he became angry, and he sent an armed body to him, a great one. And he (the prince) had to make amends with fourteen cows and ten men; for the king was very much offended. Again an ambassador of the king was sent to the prince, asking for more cattle and men as compensation. Then the king said, "Now let him alone, the reason for his being so haughty as to cut ivory-bracelets was his wealth, and we have taken that from him."

44. The Cowardly King.

539 *[illegible]*

173 539 A man whose name was *Akwoyo* Bako, came and wanted to become king. He was a short man. The Shilluks commented, "This man shall be king now, we are satisfied with him." But one man refused, saying, "No, he is not a king! What kind of king is he, this short man? I protest!" This man came and sat down on the side of a road, to lie in wait for the new king. While he was lying in wait for him, *Akwoyo* Bako came. When he saw the man, he was afraid and ran away. The man asked, "Why do you run away? Was it not you who said,

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[1] Formerly only the king was authorized to wear ivory bracelets.

he wanted to become king? What is chasing you?" When the people heard this, they said, "Ah, shall that man (this cowardly king) bring evil upon us?" And Akwoyo Bako came, he turned towards the village, and he behaved like one possessed by a spirit.[1] But the people remained silent. Then he said, "Beat the holy drum!" But the people remained silent. One of the chiefs said, "Loosen a rope!"[2] And a rope was loosened by a child. When he saw that, he ran away. And the Shilluks laughed, "Indeed, he is not a king!" The Shilluks said, "Kill him!" He ran towards the bush fleeing. 173 539*

45. Queen Abudok.

[illegible] Chọlọ [illegible] Abụdọk [illegible] — Kwọpẹ Abụdọk. 539*

In the time of Dakọdẹ the country was without a king. And the Shilluks did not know what to do, because there was no king. And the people came to (queen) Abudok, saying, "Alas, we are in confusion from not having a king!" She said, "Take this one (pointing to one of her younger brothers) for a king!" So he was taken, he was elected. Abudok went away. She brought seeds of the water-lily, spread them out in the sun, and ground them. She put them into a bag, the bag was very big, so that, when she put the seeds in, the bag remained unfilled. Then she brought a small bag, poured the seeds in, and it was filled. Now she went to Fashoda with the bag, and put it down there. She said, "Ah, the Shilluks will be devoured by the descendants of the king. In future time the descendants of the king will become many." She said again, "Eh, the descendants of the king will be like a sickness (to the Shilluks), if they build their village beside your (the Shilluks') village, your village will become very small, it will decrease. But they (the royal family) will become many, just as the branches of the [illegible] plant become many in the bush." Therefore the descendants of the king have become so many. — This is the story of Abudok. 173 539*

[*Explanation given by the man who told this story:* "Abudok was a bad queen, and the Shilluks did not like her; they wanted a king. So Abudok presented to them one of her two younger brothers, whom she raised (educated), saying, "Take this one for your king." Abudok went away 643 156 787

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[1] When the new king is elected, the spirit of Nyikang takes possession of him; this is manifested by a shaking of the body, singing, etc.

[2] "loosen a rope" = to thrash him!

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

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angrily, she collected certain seeds, dried and pounded them, and brought them to Fashoda as a symbol, to show the Shilluks how they would be surpassed in number and in power by the descendants of the royal family.* This story again shows that the royal family is not originally Shilluk, but of foreign origin. — But perhaps it was simply because she was a woman that the Shilluks did not want her to rule them. In the list of kings given by Dhadhoker Alwich is omitted.]

VI. WAR STORIES.

46. War.

[illegible] 531*

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

We were travelling, we slept on the road, and when the people (whom we had sent to look for the way) came back, we (found out that we) had lost our way. We found a man, a spy, a war-spy. He asked, "Where do you come from?" We answered, "We come from the country of the Shilluk people." He asked, "From which district (of the Shilluk-country) are you?" We replied, "From Panyidwai." He (asked), "From which village?" We (replied), "From 173 531*

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[1] that is, English.

[2] The Abyssinians.

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538

the village Obau." He said, "Do you belong to Agëdo?" We replied, "Yes, we do." He said, "All right." He took us and brought us to some other village, Dowat, then he brought us to Agëdo. He found out the chief, who (received us and) killed a goat for us, and then he accompanied us. We slept at Bokyony. When the next day came, and it had become afternoon, he killed again a goat for us; the people (my companions and I) sat down.

A war signal was given. The people went, and there was a fight at Atiöm. Shilluks were killed by the strangers, the Shilluks were chased throughout the country till the strangers came to Tonga. And the chief Gukwach surrendered; he was left alive by the strangers, they said, "All right, we are friends." The strangers turned back, and marched straight towards Nyilwak. There they turned on an island (in the Nile), and while they were sleeping there, many of them were killed by the Shilluks, and many too were chased into the river, a great number.

After that they came and sat down at Obang; they remained quiet there for three months, then they went and attacked Tonga (again), some of the people they killed, and some they caught as slaves; they returned and marched towards Tiew; they captured Tiew and came marching towards Kher Filus, they caught people there; they came to Wü, they captured Wü, they arrived at Nyoh and captured it; from Nyoh they returned and sat down at Winyabed.

They returned to the Dinka country, but there they had no success, and so went back, and sat down at the mouth of the river Pith. They turned to the next villages, and then went (across the river) to Todigo. The chief Dodon surrendered, he paid tribute in cattle and men. From there the enemy turned back to Fashoang. He chased (the Dinka chief) Dingjol, and Dingjol surrendered. He was killed, together with his children. The enemies went away and captured Koyang. While they remained in the Shilluk country, the country suffered very much, there were no goats left, no cattle, no fowls, no dura, no clothes, no shields, no drums, no houses, no cow houses; the land was ruined to destruction.

In that time a king was elected, king Akol, he fought a war, the war of Gur, and the people of Lwak (with their king Akol) were chased. There came the strangers, the Ansars,[1] they overcame the king and caught him. They arrived at Fal, and remained there. The (Shilluk-) king Kur[2] continued reigning during this time. And the Lir-people[3] came and brought fowls, and cattle, and goats. The king Kur[2] reigned well, so that the cows, and fowl, and goats became many.

About that time the fame of some other white people was heard of; they were coming, they were very strong white people, they came and fought the Ansars; when the Shilluks heard that, they laughed,[4] and it was asked, "What is their name?" And they turned out to be the Turks and the English. It was said, "The Ansars will surely be killed now."

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[1] the people the Dervishes.
[2] or Kur.
[3] the Jur.
[4] The Dervishes [illegible]

And again there came white people, from the interior, they were *Abyssinians*. 173
The *Abyssinians* came, and marched towards the river, the Sobat; the Shilluks 539*
ran away to their villages.

And the people returned to their villages, because there was a rumour, "The Ansars have been killed." Then the drum was beaten, the Shilluks danced to the drum, they rejoiced. The Turks came and remained in the country.

47. Tribal War.

[illegible] 539*

One family comes and goes out into the bush, and another family comes, 539*
and they begin fighting. And a man is speared, and falls down; again another
man is speared, (so they go on till on both sides the dead are) many. At last 628
one army runs away: many people are killed, they are speared. Now the warriors scatter. The women come to carry the dead home. No one is left out in the bush during night-time.

(After a war) the people come to lie in wait during the night.[1] — The people [514]
are accustomed to urinate in the house, in a gourd.[2]

48. The War of Nyakar.

[illegible] 539*

Some man whose name was Nyakar, the son of Dur, was very, very brave. 173
He went and turned towards Tungwer (in the Dinka country) to capture. He 539*
destroyed Tungwer and seized it (its people and cattle). And he was imitated by Todit, he too seized an army and marched against Dinkjol, but his army was chased by Dinkjol, he drove the army into the river, so that they died. Todit went home and reported what he had done.

49. The War of Dong.

[illegible] 539*

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[1] This is blood revenge; if one tribe has more dead than the other, it tries to kill some people of the hostile village.

[2] for fear of being killed when going out.

3:Westermann E-5 (1915) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

*531 [illegible]

173 There was a certain man with the name of Dong, his village fought with Dowat; the name of the village was Twoldit. The war began, it began at the village
*531 Yonj, the army fought, and ten men were killed. Then a Dinka man (a sorcerer) was brought, he made a charm, saying, "The war must be fought in the morning, early in the morning." So Dong arose early in the morning, and laid an ambush on the way; and when the people (the enemies) came out, he attacked them and killed (many of) them. The army of the enemy went back into the village, and when they came again, they killed fourteen men of Dong's. Then Dong begged, he begged for auxiliary troops; and an auxiliary army came. With them he went after the enemy, and the village (of Dowat) stopped fighting.

VII. TRADITIONS ON ŃIKĀŃǪ.

90. Nyikang's Parents.

[illegible] 539

In ancient times Okwa (the father of Nyikang) married the (woman of the) river, the mother of Nyikang, Nyakao, the daughter of Ko. And the people used to go to the river. The brother of Nyakao was the crocodile, it lived with the men; and the people used to play on its back saying, "Our grandmother, oh!" One day Dak went, he took the children of the crocodile, he killed and roasted them. When the children were searched for, Dak said, "I have roasted them." Nyikayo (the brother of Nyakao) said, "How is that?" He replied, "I have eaten them." Then the mother of the crocodile said, "Nyakayo, my grandchildren have been eaten by your grandchildren." He replied, "Have they really been eaten by them?" He asked, "Where will you go now?" The woman replied, "I will remain in the river." Nyakayo said, "No, because you (and your children) will in your turn also be eaten by it (the crocodile), when the people (your children) come to wash." So the men now are caught by the crocodile. The crocodile said, "You (men) can never pass a river again, and you never will drink water from the river." Then Nyakayo (the man) said, "All right, if ever I find you (crocodile) lying outside the river, I shall surely stab you. You shall never sleep outside the river, you (shall only have sufficient time to) lay your eggs on the river bank." And a harpoon was made. During the time when the crocodile comes out of the river, the cows swim across the river; but (often) they are seized by the crocodile. This is the beginning of the enmity between man and the crocodile. 539 773 776

[Another Report on the Descent of Nyikang and on the origin of the Shilluk people, given in A. E. S. page 197:

In the beginning was Ju-ok (God), the Great Creator, and he created

*539 773 776 a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Deung Adok (*jwok adok*). The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she nursed and named Kola (*Kolo*); Kola begat Umak Ra or Omaro (*Omaro*), who begat Mako or Wad Maal (*wat mal*), who begat Okwa (*Okwa*). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Okwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Okwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Diljil, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Diljil, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, while his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Okwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incoherent prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kaya (*Nyakaya*), the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Duwat. The eldest son of Nik-Kaya, was called Nyakang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, — *Nyikang*) and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Okwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Duwat.

On Okwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyakang and Duwat as to who should succeed Okwa. It ended by Nyakang, with his sisters *Ad Dui*, *Ad Ungkor*, and Bun Yung, his brother Umoi and his half-brother *Ju*, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked *Arabs*, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1500 A. D., or later.

Nyakang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

*539 365 614 623 773 776 The new creation and their offspring form the Okolo race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyakang's family.

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The latter continues to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shilluk.

Nik-Kiaya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kiaya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas*.

By Dr. T. Lambie, of Doleib Hill.

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Nyikang, Duwad, Ju, Obl, Otin, and Nai were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Omara from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya. Okwa's other wife was Ungwet. Nyikang and Duwad were twins; they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Duwad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dinka, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dinka, and the Dinka said, "Truly! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak. Another man, called Obogi, kept silence there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Eh!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow did not hear." Then Obogi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the father came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dinka people came to his house and speared the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for some." So they came and stopped here in the home of the Shulla.

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*i.e. Shilluks.

31. The Early Wanderings of Nyikang and his People. His Fight with the Sun.

539 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

bąį Dɔŋo ki jiŋɔ. A viɛnį, a bąį [illegible] ki jiŋɔ; a bąį [illegible] ki jiŋɔ; a bąį Toŋɔ ki jiŋɔ; a bąį Olugo ki jiŋɔ, a bąį [illegible] ki jiŋɔ; a bąį [illegible] ki jiŋɔ. 531*

In ancient times the people came to the country Kerau, this is the country into which Nyikang came. Here they separated, he and (his brother) Duwat. Duwat said, "Nyikang, where are you going?" He replied, "I am going to that place there". Again he said, "Nyikang, look behind!" And Nyikang turned round, and looked back, and he saw a stick for planting dura, which Duwat had thrown to him. When Nyikang came back to take it, he asked, "What is that?" Duwat replied, „Go, that is a thing with which to dig the ground of your village!" And Nyikang came, and sat down in the country of Turo. This is the country of his son Dak. 531* 773

And Dak used to sit on the ashes of the village and to play the tom (a stringed instrument). But his uncles (the brothers of Nyikang) said, "The country is to be ruled by Dak alone? (being jealous of him). His uncles went to sharpen their spears. But it was told to Dak, "You are going to be killed by your uncles!" Then Nyikang went to fetch an ambach, he hewed it, and made for it hands (so that it looked like the statue of a man). Dak went and sat down in the same place again, and began playing his instrument. His uncles came and stabbed him — that is, the ambach statue; Dak went into his enclosure ([illegible]). Nyikang came and said, "My son has been killed by his uncles." His uncles were afraid saying, "Let every man stay at home four days. When four days have passed, we may mourn him." The morning after four days were gone, all the people came (to mourn), there were a great many. Suddenly Dak came out from his enclosure and went to dance the mock dance. When his uncles saw this, they ran away, and the mourning was finished.

Nyikang said, "I will go!" And he came and went along a river, a certain river called [illegible]. And the people settled on this river. Here the cow ran away, the cow of Nyikang, because of her calves, her calves used to be speared by Nyikang.* She went and came to the country of the sun. And Ojul ("the grey hawk") went to search for her; he found the cow among the cows of the sun. He said, "I am searching for a cow." Garo, the son of the sun, said, "Man, what do you search for?" He replied, "I search for a cow!" He asked, "What cow?" Ojul said, "The cow of Nyikang." Garo asked, "Where has it come from?" He answered, "From the country of Nyikang." Garo replied, "No, never! Here is no cow of Nyikang." He, Ojul, turned back and told Nyikang, "Nyikang, we have found the cow! among the cows of a certain man, he is awfully tall, just like Dak; on his hands he has silver bracelets." Nyikang said, "Raise an army, and find the cow!" Dak went and attacked Garo, he threw

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* Whenever Nyikang came to a new place, he killed a calf.

*539 him on the ground. He cut off his hands, pulled the bracelets off them, and chased the enemy's army; he came to the sun. But there the army of Nyikang
773 was chased, and it was utterly destroyed. Then Nyikang himself came; he took an adze and aimed it towards the sun. He hit the sun, and it returned to the sky. Nyikang went and took the bracelet, with it he touched the dead of his army, and they returned to life.

The people came, they came to the head (source) of a river, there they arose and approached the junction of the river (in boats). They found the river full of sudd. Nyikang said, "Where does this come from? what shall we do?" Their way was barred. Then Okogo[1] arose saying, "Nyikang, I have finished eating. Spear me under the sudd!" He said again, "Nyikang, then I shall part asunder the sudd, and if you come to any place where the sudd is, you just follow after it." So Okogo was stabbed under the sudd, and the sudd broke asunder, so they came to their place together with the sudd.

He settled (with his people) in Ashpiru-gwok, but he found the country occupied by the white people, therefore the people returned to this side of the river. They settled at the head of the Pijo (i. e. Sobat), Dak passed on to Wij-Palo. The army went home (it scattered because the war was finished).

He, Nyikang, built the following villages: Nyelwal, Papwojo, Akurwa, Tedigo, Palo. The people went on and built Wau, Oshoro, Pennyikang Otago, Akurwaja, Moro, Oryang, these are the villages of Nyikang. Nyikang went saying, "Ah, there are still Shilluks left!"

Then Dak ruled, he went away;[2] (after him his son) Odak ruled, he went away[2] while hunting game. The people were perplexed, and they said, "What is that?" Nyikang returned saying, "Bring a cow, that we may make a king." When that was finished, Duwat ruled after him; when he had finished, Bwoch ruled after him, after him Dokot ruled, then Tugo, then Okwon; then Kudit, then Nyadwacho. (For the complete list see page 135).

[A somewhat different report of this warfare is given by P. W. Hofmayr in "Anthropos", 1910, V, page 331; it runs thus:

Nyikang heard of a country in which all ornaments and even the tools were made of silver. He made up his mind to go into this country with his sons and numerous armed people. The name of this country was wang geeo i. e. the country where the sun sets and sleeps, and where the sun is so near that it may be seized with the fingers.

Nyikang arrived in the adventurous country; in truth, numerous cattle-herds were grazing here, and the young people were richly adorned with silver rings and silver sticks. Nyikang and Dag entered a hut, where a young woman was working. She was exceedingly beautiful; the Shilluk harem had never seen her equal. Dag asked the woman, whether she would like to marry him and go with him into his country. The woman was frightened, she sprang up, cursing the black fellows. But Dag replied, "Though we are black, and without silver ornaments, we shall show you that our arms are stronger than those of your men and that we may well venture to ask you for marriage." Thereupon the woman showed them the direction where her husband with his servants herded the cattle. Nyikang and Dag turned thither. 539* 775

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[1] Okogo means "albino"; vide also page 135.
[2] i. e. he died.

It was just growing dark and the herds were coming from the bush, the men with their costly silver ornaments following. Dag at once rose, went to meet them, and soon a great fighting was going on. The man who wore the heavy silver rings was defeated, and Dag stripped the ornaments off him.

In the heat of the fight and on account of the scorching sun all the Shilluks fell down. Nyikang ordered water to be brought, with which he sprinkled his fallen warriors, and they all came to life again. Even the sun he sprinkled that it might not burn so hot, and presently it ceased burning. Finally the Shilluks were victorious and drove away the cattle and men of the enemies. These people are the Quabshal (Kwa Jal).

When they had arrived in the Shilluk country, Dag once more proposed to the woman to marry her; but he was again rejected.

Nyikang offered the princesses in his country cattle, but they declined. He offered them Shilluk women, but again they declined. So he gave them the privilege to seize and keep a number of Shilluk girls and to collect spears, sheep, and fat in the whole Shilluk country, as often as a new king would be elected. As this was a lasting privilege, they consented to accept it.]

32. Different Doings and Adventures of Nyikang.

Nikang ni ba (kwanyi) [illegible] [illegible]. Ka [illegible] [illegible] ni [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] ki [illegible]. Ka [illegible] ni [illegible] [illegible]. Ka ni [illegible] Nikang, ka Nikang [illegible], ka e [illegible], ka e ka [illegible]: Dak, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ka Dak e [illegible], ka Dak [illegible], ka Dak e [illegible], ka e ka: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ka Nikang ka: ö, [illegible]! [illegible] [illegible] (ni) [illegible] e ni [illegible] [illegible]? Kipe: ö, [illegible] ni [illegible] [illegible]! A [illegible] Dak, e [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] ki [illegible]. A [illegible] Dak e [illegible], ka [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Ka [illegible] [illegible] e [illegible], ka [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Dak; ka [illegible] [illegible], ka [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. 539*

Ka [illegible] [illegible] e [illegible] ki [illegible]. Kä [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Nikang, ka [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]: Nikang, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]? Kipe: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ni [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] Nikang [illegible]: ö, [illegible] [illegible] ni [illegible] [illegible]? Kipe: [illegible] [illegible] ni [illegible] ki [illegible]! A [illegible] Nikang [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible]. Kipe: ö, [illegible] [illegible] ki [illegible] [illegible]! A [illegible] Nikang [illegible]: ö, [illegible]. A [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible]! Ka Nikang [illegible] [illegible]. A [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], e [illegible] [illegible], e [illegible] [illegible], e [illegible]

*539 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

*539 773 Nyikang used to go to the river-bank. And some people also used to come there, they were fishing in a boat, and suddenly the boat used to sink to the bottom. Nyikang saw it, but he did not know what to do (with those people),

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therefore he went home, and said (to his son), "Dak, there are certain people, I do not know what to do with them." Dak went, but he too could not manage them. So Dak came home saying, "I do not know what to do with these people." But Nyikang said, "My, why did you let the people go?" He answered, "Well, the boat went down to the bottom!" Dak returned and found the people again fishing in a boat. Dak turned himself into an egret and sat down in the middle of the river. The people came and were driven to the side of Dak; so he caught them and brought them into a (his) village (settled them).

Those people now lived in a village. And Nyikang was building a house. They asked, "Nyikang, are these your houses? Our houses (the houses of our father) are not thus." Nyikang replied, "Eh, how then are (your) houses built?" They replied, "Our houses are built with human beings." But Nyikang protested, saying: "I have no human beings (for that purpose)!" They replied, "Why, you have a lot of people here with you everywhere!" But Nyikang said, "No, there are none!" The man (the chief of those water-people) went; — his name was Olsalo. — (But he came again) saying: "Bring a man!" But Nyikang refused. The man went and brought his own son; then he mixed mud, he marked the place where the house was to be built, he prepared the mud and dug out the foundations of the house. He said, "Bring mud!" And it was brought. He said, "Stop now!" He seized his son and struck him with a club, until he died. When Nyikang saw this, he said, "Ah, Olsalo, you are doing a wicked thing! how can you kill that man!?" Olsalo replied, "Why?" Nyikang said, "Well, it now will remain a custom of *your village*, always when a house of Nyikang will be built, a man will die because of Olsalo." The people remained there. Nyikang said, "Ah, Olsalo, your people will always die in building this house!" Olsalo replied, "Never mind, they are many, they will not be used up."

Nyikang gave him certain goods belonging to himself, with which to build the house (of Nyikang). And he said, "The house shall be built with a black heifer, which shall be eaten in the night; during the night it shall be eaten." One family — they are followers of Nyikang — eat the broth, and one family eat the meat, one family eat the meat on the skin. It is finished; this report is at an end.

Nyikang used to go to the *river junction* (of Sobat and White Nile), there he used to find some people who were cooking, a man with his sister. When Nyikang came near, they ran away into the river. Nyikang did not know what to do, and he called Dak. But Dak refused. He begged him. Then Nyikang went, and gave his daughter to Dak, as an indemnity for the mother of Dak. Now Dak consented, he went and found the people. They ran into the river, but Dak also drove a boat into the river and he drove them out onto the bank. They attempted to escape into the river again, but he seized the girl; he put

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her into his boat and came home. But her brother followed her, and they both remained in the village. (Dak married the girl), and she bore a son. After some time they stole away, the man and his sister. Her son was left in the village.

One day Nyikang went to fish with a hook. And a man (below the water) always used to break the fish-hook in the river, the name of this man was Oshwa. He, that is, Nyikang, now went to dig out the joch-plant, the joch of Ochamdor, he twisted it into a rope and tied the fish-hook to it, he fastened a piece of bread to the point of the hook, and so he caught the man in the river, he came out — it was a man! His sister came after him. They remained in the village, they used to eat calves, the calves of Nyikang, and they used to eat the corn which was cooked for making beer. At last Nyikang became angry, and said, "Row this man to the place of Witer, a place where he may eat buffaloes." (He was rowed thither, and) ate buffaloes. His sister also went there and she used to say, "Give me some meat!" He became angry with his sister, and they fought. And (while fighting) they rolled into the river, they tumbled down a steep slope, and so went into the river again.

Some people used to go fishing, to a place called Olam. Nyikang got into difficulties with them, and Dak went. He met them, and they were caught by him. Nyikang said, "Give them to me!" But Dak refused, saying, "They are my slaves." Dak took them along with him and brought them into his village. He gave them big cattle, and the spear Alodo with which to kill the cows. — When people bring cattle to Fashoda it is their (these people's) property.

There were some people, descendants of the white men; they became slaves. They used to give fowls. They were people found in the country before Nyikang was brought from Akuruwar. They used to catch hens, and to offer them to Nyikang as a tax, in the middle of Dok. — That is all, this report is finished.

Some people were fishermen, they used to go to the river, to the river of Abudok, they used to eat the calves of hippos. The name of this river was Nyewek. When Abudok came, he asked them, "From which place are you people?" They replied, "We are fishermen." Abudok was silent. And while they were eating meat, flies settled on the meat; but these people would not suffer it, they were proud. Abudok said, "Why do you refuse that meat?" They replied, "We are afraid." He asked, "Of what?" They answered, "Of the flies." He said, "You are proud, are you not?" They replied, "We do not eat anything on whose back there are flies." These people were taken home by Abudok. And Abudok said, "Ah, you will continue thus! You are the descendants of pride." They stayed there, they became adherents of Abudok, he gave them a setttlement.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

53. The Man who sacrificed Himself.

Kɛt a bɛn Ńikaň, a kɛṭi Atɛlɔ̈ ki wɔte bɔ̈ŋ, a yuodo nam ɛ ɛiɖɔ yi tɛ̈k. Ka Ńikaň e jiɛdɛ yɔ̈. Ka jal ma ɖöŋɔ e [illegible] kine: Ńikaň, yi [illegible] chɔ̈ŋ? Yi [illegible] ki yɔ̈? Ye ko: [illegible], yɛ jɔ̈ŋ yɔ. Ka e ko: kɛt ya [illegible] ki cham, yɛ ɐ [illegible], ba ya [illegible] ki tɛ̈k, ba [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] ɐ [illegible]. Ka Ńikaň [illegible] jal gol, ba [illegible] [illegible] nam, ba tɛ̈k e chɔ̈ɖɔ. Ka Ńikaň yɔ̈ti ki yɔ.[1] 539*

When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Atalß with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino,[1] asked thee, "Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?" He replied, "Yes, I do not see a way where to pass." The man said, "When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away." And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage. 539* 773

54. Nyikang and the River-people.

A kɛṭa Ńikaň wak, a [illegible], a yɔ̈de yɔ̈, riɛ̈a wɛ̈k yi lyɛk, a kɔ̈bi kine: jɔk, wei [illegible] ([illegible]) yi yɛi wun! jɔk gol ko: kipaŋɔ? Kine yon. A [illegible], cho yɛi ni [illegible] pen, ba ɡɛ ni [illegible] yi Ńikaň. A lɛ̈n, a [illegible] gin, a kɛ̈le ɡɛ puoh, a [illegible] gin, a lɔɡɛ bɔ̈ŋ, a wei ɡɛ tɛ̈k, ɡɛ ni [illegible] ɡɛn. A lɔɡe tyɛk lɛ̈m, a wei ɡɛ Ńiböɖɔ; ba ni bɔ̈ti Ńikaň. Chwɔl gɛ̈ kwar Waň, kwäre yɛi lyɛk. 539*

Nyikang went into the bush capturing; he saw (at a distance on the river) a boat, he ran from the high grass to a place where the grass was burned, then he called, "People, let me get into your boat!" The people asked, "Why?" He replied, "Just let me go in." When he got into it, the boat went to the bottom (was about to sink, this being caused by the witchcraft of the people in the boat); but Nyikang pushed it up again; then he came and caught them. He brought them into a village; he taught them to pray; they became his slaves (his subjects); he gave them the spear and taught them to pray. So they became the people of prayer. He let them reside at Nyibodo; they keep the (religious) things belonging to Nyikang. They are called the descendants of Wang, the descendants of the boat of the grassless plain. 539* 773 793

55. The Lost Cow.

Kwɔjɛl e kwayi ɖɔk, ɖɔk Ńikaň, ka ɖeaň akyɛl e wɛ̈ň, ka e kɛɖɔ kal ɖɔ Diŋɔ. Ka e lɛ̈ŋɔ: ɖeaň aɡɔn? Kine: ɖeaň tɛ̈k! Ka Ńikaň wɛ̈rɔ, ka e ko: yap ɖeaň! Ka 539*

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[1] Vide 51.

*539 *e kwayo kwan de chwak, ba ge kwayo, ba ge kwayo, ba [illegible]; a kwayo, a [illegible] Dimo. Ka [illegible] fach, ba [illegible]: a fyecho: yi kwayo kwan a? [illegible] Nikaṅ [illegible]. Ka [illegible] Nikaṅ, ba [illegible]. Ka e [illegible] Chol. Ka [illegible]. Ka fyech Nikaṅ kine: [illegible] yin? Ka e ko: [illegible] fach. Chwol gen Kwajul, [illegible] Nikaṅ.*

*539 773 Kwajul herded cattle, the cattle of Nyikang; and one cow disappeared, she went into the cattle-yard of Dimo. When Kwajul came home, Nyikang asked, "Where is the cow?" He replied, "The cow is away." Nyikang became angry, he said, "Search for the cow!" So he went westwards ("to the place of the sun"), he walked and walked, till he had been on his way a year; he arrived in the country of Dimo. There he found the cow, she had gone into the village, and was lying within the yard. They asked him, "Where do you come from?" He replied, "I come from the country of Nyikang, to search for a cow." The next morning he went into the cattle yard, and drove the cow of Nyikang away. And he came and approached the Shilluk country. He drove the cow into the cattle pen. Nyikang asked, "Have you brought the cow?" He replied, "The cow is here in the village." Therefore he was called Kwajul, the servant of Nyikang.[1]

56. The Liar.

*539 *Ojulo kado ge [illegible], ba [illegible]; ba [illegible], ba [illegible]. A [illegible] Nikaṅ, a fyechi kine: Ojulo, yi [illegible]? Ko: a, [illegible] ya! [illegible]. Ka Nikaṅ e [illegible], e ko: [illegible], yi [illegible]. A [illegible]; a [illegible].*

*539 773 Ojulo was a friend (of Nyikang). When he went somewhere and came back, he used to tell all kinds of stories (lies) to Nyikang. Whenever he came to a country, he brought home a lot of stories. One day Nyikang asked, "Ojulo, why do you always lie so much?" Ojulo replied, "Ah, friend, let me lie! That is what makes me feel well." And Nyikang laughed, he said, "Man, you will always continue in this, you are a liar indeed!" And so he continued, he used to tell stories, he bought the story-telling with the shoulder of game, which he gave to Nyikang.[2]

57. Nyikang's Quarrel with Duwat.

*539 *Nikaṅ wan Okwa, omge Duwat, fote Shilluk fa Turo, [illegible] dakal. Ka Nikaṅ e [illegible] ki Duwat, Nikaṅ wade Dak, Duwat wade Dimo. Ka Dak e [illegible] ki Dimo ki [illegible] Nikaṅ, chama bul, bul Duwat; Dimo [illegible]. Nikaṅ [illegible] ki Duwat. — Nikaṅ e kado, e ko: Duwat, [illegible]! ya [illegible]! Ka Nikaṅ e kado,*

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[1] Compare with this story No. 51.

522 [2] By giving the shoulder of the game he had killed, he "bought" from Nyikang the privilege to tell lies. (This is meant as a joke).

[illegible] Ko [illegible] Nīkaṅ kịne: [illegible] Nīkaṅ [illegible] — [illegible] (Wat) Nīkaṅ [illegible]. 539*

Nyikang, his father is Okwa, and his brother is Dowat. The country of the Shilluks was (at that time) Turo; there they lived in one place. And Nyikang became angry with Dowat: Nyikang had a son whose name was Dak, and the son of Dowat was Dimo. And Dak quarrelled with Dimo behind (or: on account of) the calves of Nyikang; they (the calves) ate the dura, the dura of Dowat, and Dimo beat the calves. Therefore Nyikang became angry with Dowat. Nyikang went away. He said, "Dowat, stay here! I go." And Nyikang went away walking. Dowat ran after Nyikang, saying: "Nyikang, stop!" But Nyikang refused. Again he called, "Look!" And Nyikang looked behind, and Dowat threw a digging stick towards him, saying: "Take this stick to bury your people with!"[1] Nyikang came into the Shilluk country, (and it became) the home of Nyikang and his son Dak and Shal; he had (these) two sons. — One son of Nyikang became a man who used to fish. 539* 773

38. The Fish Ocholo.

Jal [illegible] Ochōlō, [illegible] Nīkaṅ. [illegible] Nīkaṅ [illegible] Ko Nīkaṅ [illegible]. 539*

[illegible] Nīkaṅ [illegible]. Ko jal [illegible] Nīkaṅ [illegible]. Ko Dāk [illegible].

A [illegible] Dāk, [illegible]. Ko Nīkaṅ [illegible]. Ko jal [illegible]. Ko [illegible].

A certain man whose name was Ocholo (that is "Shilluk") was a slave of Nyikang. When one day he accompanied Nyikang to the river, he became a fish and he lifted his head above the water, saying, "buh!"[2] Nyikang did not know what to do; he went home, made a fish-spear (a harpoon), and tied a fish-line 539* 773

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[1] Vide page 159.

[2] a much used exclamation of surprise.

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773
to its end. He went to the river again, the fish lifted its head above the water, saying, "buk!" Then Nyikang stabbed the fish, but he missed him; — this man was a jwok.[1] He once more lifted his head out, and Nyikang tried to stab him, but again missed him. At last Nyikang was tired, and he went home. When he came home, he found this same man gathering cow dung.

The next day Nyikang returned to the river bank; this man also returned; he lifted up his head out of the water, saying, "buk!" Nyikang stabbed him, but he missed him, so he went on till the afternoon, then Nyikang went home. He called Dak, saying, "Dak, son of man, there is a big fish in the river, I have failed to catch it, I tried to stab it, but I failed." Dak replied, "Well, what fish can there be in that small river?" Nyikang said, "Well, you just go and see it, it is a fish with a very strong voice. I stabbed it, but I always missed it. I do not know what to do with it, son of man."

Dak went, he went to the river. The fish lifted up its head, saying, "Buk!" He stabbed it, but missed it. He came home, saying, "I do not know how to stab it!" But Nyikang replied, "Oh, my cousin, you have not yet tried properly." Dak made his spear handle straight, and went again. The fish lifted up its head, saying, "Buk!" In this moment Dak threw the spear at the place where the splashing of the water was, and the spear fell on the fish (hit it). Then the man (the fish) arose, and said, "Ah, Dak, your talk is bad, you are a cunning one!" He (the fish-man) went home, he became a subject (of Nyikang), he (Nyikang) built him a village, and called its name Abugo, he built it beside the brook Dak.

39. Nyikang and the Sorcerers.

4 539 *Nikaṅ ba e [illegible], ba e [illegible], ba e ko: [illegible]? [illegible] Nikaṅ e [illegible], ba e ko: [illegible]? Ko: [illegible]! Ko e [illegible], ba Nikaṅ [illegible], ba [illegible], ba [illegible], ba [illegible]. Ko [illegible], ba [illegible] (gin).*

[illegible] Twolaŋ. Ko [illegible], [illegible].

4 539
773
When Nyikang was capturing (men), he went to a certain country, and he said, "Ah, what shall we say?" Because these people were witch-doctors, and Nyikang got into difficulties (trying to capture them). Again he said, "Why, what shall I do with these people? Ah, I have found out!" And he turned into a wind, and then he turned into a cloud-shadow, and covered the earth (so that it was dark and the wizards could not see anything); so he caught them. He brought them, and built them a village.

These are the descendants of the woman, they live at Twolang. Nyikang gave them a cow, a cow of the river, an ogwoo.

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[1] *jwok* = "God".

60. A War against Turtles.

[illegible] 539*

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

A certain king called Moi, a brother of Nyikang, ruled the Shilluk country. 539* He went out to conquer some people called Belo (near Chai = Roseires). He 773 conquered the tribe, and destroyed it.

Again there was another country, a country called Oton, he went to conquer this too. But the people of Oton turned into turtles, they buried themselves in the ground. And when the people of Moi sat down, they bit them; thus the turtles were victorious. Moi went home, and called for Dak. Dak asked, "What is the matter?" Moi said, "I have been defeated, I do not know what to do with them, you son of the sister of man! It was a very hard war indeed, my men were awfully bitten in the rear." He asked, "How so?" Moi answered, "Eh, I do not know." Dak replied, "Ah, is not that a simple matter?" He said "Cut sticks!" He sharpened the sticks, he made them like fish spears. Then he raised an army. Dak said, "Let me go ahead!" He went ahead, and he told all the people in the army, "Prick the ground!" So all the people, while they were walking, pricked the ground; thus Dak had the whole ground pricked, and the turtles came out, and the enemy was defeated, and they returned home.

Again he raised an army, he raised it against the country of Belo. The army

* 539 773 went; it came to fighting during the night, the air was full of fireflies. It was the country of the fireflies. They fell upon the men, and the men died. When Dak fought against those people, he told his warriors, "Make grass torches!" They made grass torches; when the army came near the village and sat down there, the fireflies came; Dak said, "Light the torches!" They set fire to the torches, and when the fireflies came, Dak had the grass torches thrown at them; thus the enemy was destroyed by Dak, he caught them all.

When the people (the warriors) came home, Moi, the brother of Nyikang, said, "Dak, take the royal cloth (become our king)! You are a man of many thoughts, you know all [illegible]!" Dak took the cloth, and he ruled.

He raised an army to wage war against a certain tribe, he destroyed them, and they became his slaves.

While Dak was absent, a house was built (by Nyikang and Moi); and when he returned, Nyikang told him, "Dak, we have been building a house (for you) during your absence, but there are not sufficient poles." Dak replied, "But what does that matter? I shall build my house with ualag poles." So it became a custom for the people to build with ualag poles.

61. Praising Nyikang.

* 539 *Ko bwǫŋg ba e chwǫgo, ba tsū ban tyęk, ba e bądę, ba e kęty. Ko ban nęgę. A kęte tęrę, e nęge dęk, e kęl dęk, e gęr gen. A wang gęrę, e chip ję kwǫ, nęk chip Mwǫmę, nęk chip Tǫŋ.*

Our grandfather,[1] he roared, and he surrounded the enemies on all sides, and he went, and fought. He killed the enemies; then the (Shilluk) people came, they caught the cattle (of the enemy), they brought the cattle. They built houses in the country; when they had finished building, he appointed watchmen (men who had to watch the boundaries of the Shilluk country against their enemies), some on the northern boundary at Mwomo, and some on the southern boundary at Tonga.

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[1] i. e. Nyikang.

VIII. PRAYERS AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

62. A Prayer to God.

[illegible] 539*

"I implore thee, thou God, I pray to thee during the night. How are all people 539*
kept by thee all days! And thou walkest in the midst of the (high) grass, I 782
walk with thee; when I sleep in the house, I sleep with thee. To thee I pray 755
for food, and thou givest it to the people; and water to drink; and the soul is kept (alive) by thee. There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango; it is thou (Nyikango) who walkest with God; thou becamest the grandfather (of man), and thy son Dak. If a famine comes, is it not given by thee? So as this cow stands here, is it not thee: if she dies, does her blood not go to thee? Thou God, to whom shall we pray, is it not to thee? Thou God, and thou who becamest Nyikango, and thy son Dak! But the soul (of man), is it not thine own? It is thou who liftest up (the sick)."

That is all; and the cow is speared; and the contents of her stomach are taken out, and are thrown on the body of the man who is sick ("is with God"); and water is poured on his body. And one ear of the cow is cut off. (It is cut into strips, these are tied together and the whole) is tied round the leg (of the sick one). And the right foreleg (of the cow) is cut off, and it is cooked at once; the people are not allowed to taste of it. They make a little broth out of it; that is poured on the ground: it is the thing (property) of God.[1]

63. A Prayer for Rain and the Ceremonies connected with it.

[illegible] 539*

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[1] This is said to be the only prayer to juok. It is prayed on any occasion when a trial, as sickness, famine, war, falls on the people. The prayer is said by "old people", by the chief, or some other respected person of the village. The Shilluks were taught it by Nyikang.

*539 [illegible]

[illegible] *Nyikwai, Akolo, wun Nikang.*

*539 The women come, all of them go to scratch the ground for mud, then they come and besmear the temple of the "king"[1], they prepare the mud, and make
782 stripes on the temple with red ashes, and with black ashes, and with white
796 ashes, and with soot. When they have finished this drawing, then they dance. After this dura is pounded, a cow is brought, the cow is speared; they bring out the little drum of Nyikango, and all the Shilluks come, and the people dance, and when the night comes, they continue dancing, and (while dancing) they pray to the "king":

"I beg for some little things (food), to put into my mouth. The earth has been spoiled by the people; Lonyduro[2] is travelling (on the earth). I go to our grandfather, the chief of the daughter of Nyikwai, to Akolo, the children of Nyikango."

64. A Religious Ceremony.

796 The people went, the tom (the small drum belonging to Nyikang) was beaten, they danced to the tom; and the people were beaten by the king;[3] it was a very strong drum. When it was finished, the people put the drum on the ground, then they told stories about Nyikang. After that, the people went into the house of the women (or the slaves) (of the king). The spear of Nyikang was brought out, and the people bowed their heads. A sheep was brought, it was killed; the spear of Nyikang was washed with water; the people ran to the river bank. They beat the tom vigorously, then the people came back to dance. After that they scattered. The next day they beat the tom again, the people came again to dance, and after four days they dispersed.

65. How the Cattle is brought across the River.

622 When the chief of a village wants to talk about the cattle, he assembles the people, and addresses them, "Ye people, the grass is finished now, what shall
789 we do concerning the cattle?" The people reply, "Ah, that is your business!"
233 He says, "Well, bring the wizard!" The sorcerer comes, and a goat, a spear, and a hoe are given to him. And he says, "Milk the cows!" And the cows are milked, early in the morning. Then he says, "Loosen the cattle!" They take the ambach boats, and the cows come (are tied) behind the ambach boats. The sorcerer ties grass together, and he ties it a second time on the side of the river

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[1] the "king" is Nyikang or any other ancient king, to whom the temple is dedicated.
[2] "the army of Duro", perhaps a mythical allusion.
[3] that is, they turned into a state of trance, being possessed by the spirit of the deceased king.

back. Then the milk is poured into the river, and a club is stuck into the ground in the river. The sorcerer goes into the river, and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the ambach boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats). The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the family, the clan of the sorcerer). 622 781 233

When they have arrived on the other side, an enclosure is erected, and the cows are tied to their pegs. Then another sorcerer is called, and he performs his witchery on account of thieves (to keep off thieves). The cattle are [illegible], a cow-house is built, and that is all, the people settle in this place, a place with grass.

66. Preparation for War.

531* *[illegible]*

When a hostile army comes near, the sorcerer is sent for, and cows are bestowed (are given to him), and when he comes, goats and spears are collected (and given him). Then the people come; a rope is made, and a spear is stuck into the ground; the rope is fastened to its top; now the people come, and pass below the rope. The rope is above, it is tied to the point of the spear. The man who is touched by the rope (in passing below it), is placed separately. (All these do not go into the war, because they would be killed). Thus the people walk (below the rope) a long time, till all have passed. Presently the sorcerer says to the people, "Sit down!" A he-goat is brought, and is thrown on the ground. It is cut up, and its head is cut off; the contents of its stomach are taken out, and are thrown among the people; the head of the he-goat is taken by the sorcerer, and thrown towards the hostile country, in the face of the assembled people. If the head of the he-goat points in the direction of the country of the 531* 721 787

[1] sc.

*537 enemy, it is said: "The country (of the enemy) will be defeated;" that is the
721 talk of the sorcerer. But if the head of the he-goat points towards their own
787 army, they say, "It is a bad war!" In this case the sorcerer makes his witchery once more, grass is brought, and is tied on a rope, and after that it is tied again; then the sorcerer goes to bring another he-goat, it is killed, and its head is again thrown, and when the sorcerer sees (that it is in the right direction now), he says, "All right! let all the people come!" The people come, the contents of the stomach are taken, and are thrown on the bodies of the people. Then the sorcerer goes. The head of the he-goat is buried in the ground; and water is put on the fire, and sprinkled on the people.

Now the army goes to fight. And people are killed, the army is defeated.
[726] The people come and bury their dead. Then they remain (at home). Another sorcerer is sent for; cattle are given to him. And he works (his witchery), he is a most powerful sorcerer. When he has finished his doings, the army goes
*538 to fight again. Now they defeat the enemies and kill many people; after that
728 they come and return home; they are satisfied. The people go to the king, a royal ambassador is called (and sent to the chief of the enemies), the people make amends for the men they have killed, they pay twenty cows; they go to bemoan them, then they return home, and sit down.[1]

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[1] After a war (among different Shilluk tribes) each army makes amends to the hostile tribe for the people that have been killed; these amends consist in a number of cattle.

3:Westermann K-5 (3916) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

IX. STORIES ABOUT SORCERERS.

67. The Cruel King.

Ka rįt [illegible] Ŋwo-Bâkọ, ka e [illegible], e [illegible] mano a [illegible] ki gi [illegible]. Ka e ko: [illegible]! Ka [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible]. Ka [illegible], ka rįt e [illegible] ki mano a [illegible]. Ka [illegible] ko: [illegible]! Ka Chọlọ [illegible]. Ka [illegible]: Chọl a [illegible]! Ka e [illegible]. 539*

Ka rįt [illegible], [illegible] Ŋaţi, [illegible]. Ka [illegible]; ka e [illegible]: [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible]? Jägo ko: [illegible]! Ka [illegible].

A certain king called Ngwo-Bako, reigned; he was very, very cruel; he killed people, even women he killed. One day he said, "Build a house!" And a house was built. When the door of the house was plastered (when it was finished), he went into it together with a young girl. (Then the door was walled up).[1] The king said, "Open the door!" But the Shilluks refused. The king began to sing, but the Shilluks refused; so he died. 173 539*

And another king was elected, whose name was Nyato, he was very cruel. He caused all the chiefs to come, and asked them, "Why did you kill my cousin?" They replied, "Ah, we do not know." He killed all the chiefs.

68. King Nyadwai trying the Sorcerers.

Rọt Ŋadwai, e [illegible]: a [illegible], a [illegible], a [illegible], a [illegible]. A [illegible] ajwọ̈k, ajwọgọ [illegible], a [illegible], ko: [illegible], gi [illegible] gi [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible]. Ka ajwọgọ [illegible], ka [illegible], ko: [illegible]. Ŋadwai ko: [illegible]! Ka [illegible], ka [illegible], ka [illegible] ko: [illegible]. A [illegible] jal Ajwọgọ, a [illegible] jal [illegible], ka [illegible] ko: à! A [illegible] jal [illegible], a [illegible] ko: [illegible] gi! Ka gi [illegible]; ka e [illegible]. [illegible] gi, ka [illegible], [illegible]. Ŋadwai ko: [illegible] ajwọ̈k! Ka gi [illegible]. 539*

Then Nyadwai was elected, and he reigned. One day he had a hole dug into the ground, he ordered wood to be put into it, and to set it on fire (and to cover the whole with earth). Then he ordered beans to be brought and to be cooked. He assembled all the witch doctors, and asked them, "You children of chiefs, I do not know what this humming in the earth is!" (meaning the noise caused by the boiling of the beans). One of the witch doctors came, he listened and then said, "That is something bewitching (or cursing) the village." Nyadwai replied, "Sit down there!" Another came listening; he too said, "It is something bewitching the village." Then came the man (the doctor) of Ajwogo, after him

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[1] In this way the Shilluk kings are buried. The king wanted to try his people, whether they were faithful to him.

*539 the sons of Adokong,[1] and the king said, "Ah!" Then came the son of Nyagaro, he said: "Well, bring water!" And water was brought. He washed himself, he washed his hands (as a preparation for eating food); then he took the bones out and ate them. Nyadwai said, "Kill all the other witch doctors!" And they were killed.

In the time of the reigning of king Yo, came Dinka man whose name was Longyang, came into the Shilluk country, and lived there. He was a sorcerer. Towards the end of his reigning Yo ordered the sorcerer to be brought, and [783] he killed him (on account of his sorcery). On that a war arose with the Dinkas, and they fought at Tonga; Tonga was destroyed. Then the king said, "The whole army shall go!" And the Dinkas ran away.

69. The Vision of the Sorcerer.

787 There was a certain man whose name was Wat Kwa Okot, he was also called Agworatyop, a very strong man; he was a sorcerer. One day he had a vision, *539 and he said," The white people come!" And the white people came, the country was destroyed by them. And he died, and was mourned; but before he died, he said, "Ah, the chieftainship shall be taken over by Ajalong after my death. But the man who kills me by his witchcraft, he too shall die after me." And he was mourned, and his store fell under the dom palm.[2] And the man who had bewitched him, was struck by lightning, and died; for he had been cursed by the sorcerer. And all the people believed in him, saying, "Agworatyop is a strong man indeed!" The medicine men were afraid, and so the village lived in a peaceful condition.[3]

70. Agok.

*539 *Jwǫk chwola Agǫk, mę̄nį twǫ jal yath. Jal mę̄kų lęno ajwogo, ba ǫānā ywǫkǫ, ba ǫānā yį tęgi fǫn. Ka jā rǫno bal, ba jā ba: ē, Agǫk, ǫānā a tęn. Kine: a nęlo yį ǫų? Kine: kęjǫ. Chǭǫ jā! Ka jā chǫǫ; ba e ba: ōath, faję yin a ywǫp ǫānā? Kine: yaa! Kine: bįpaną? Kine: yā pānį yin! Kine: bą, yi ba pyęlo, wąt tęm, nājā lǫch? yi ro chǫk yį yęlo bį dǫ tįrg? Yā fane yin ān, mā kęch. Kine, ē, de wā tęm! Kęę, chāl! A chālį bį ǫąk dǫjǫ.*

Ka jal gni e kęlǫ, ba bį gōte yį pwodǫ. Ka jal gni tāk yį Agǫk, kine: ōath, kęę jal yath chāal! Kā ē kęlǫ, chwola gęn a lęk. Ka mwgl ba e kęlǫ, ba gin gni ywrdo yį fwodǫ. Gę gāl fǫn, ba bia pach. Ka e kęlę kine: gicha mę̄kų e gōl yį fwodǫ yį jal yath. E ba: dāpǫōǫ pyęlį yān? Yī cha kōpǫ kōpǫ kine: kęę, jal yath a yip pwodǫ! Kine: kęę! Kine: yi ro bān? Kine: chwola ga lāke yau! Kine: ē, chǭǫ tįrǫ! A chǭǫ tįrǫ, a pęchį kine: jal yāt, yin nęlo ǫų jā? A tyęk

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[1] They did not know the cause either, except the last, who found out the cause of the humming.

[754 [2] The "medicine men" are the "bad sorcerers", who try to kill people by their witchery. They 756] are called here "jo yath" "men of medicine", as opposed to the ajwogo, who is supposed to work for good.

[3] vide Introduction.

There was a *jwok*[1] who was called *Agok*; he was manifested by a certain wizard. A certain man was a wizard. He bewitched cows, so that the cows fell down. And the people ran to the house (of Agok) saying, "Ah, Agok, a cow has died." He asked, "By whom has it been killed?" The man said, "I do not know." Agok ordered, "Assemble the people." And the people assembled. Agok asked (the wizard), "Man, is it not you who bewitch the cattle?" The wizard answered, "Yes, it is I". Agok asked, "Why?" The wizard replied, "Because I want to try you (whether you are able to find out who did it)." Agok said, He, you are a cursed one! You cursed black-eyed one! Why are you always bewitching the cattle of the people?" He answered, "Only to try you whether you really are strong." Agok said, "Well, we have met. Now go and make amends!" He made amends with three cows. 539*

Then the man went away and planted (a charm) in a field. The proprietor of the field was (while sleeping) wakened by Agok[2] with the words, "Man, go, there is a wizard in your field." But the man did not go, he thought he was dreaming. The next morning, when he went to the field, he found the charm which the wizard had put into the earth. He came home saying, "Something has been planted into my field by a wizard." Agok said to him, "Why do you ask me about this matter? I have told you already saying, 'Go, the wizard has planted a charm into your field. Therefore go!' Why did you refuse?" He replied, "I thought I was only dreaming." Agok gave order, "Assemble the people!" When all the people were assembled, Agok asked, "You wizard, why have you (tried to) kill people? you are going to kill the whole village" (=you surround the village with killing"). He answered, "It is not I." But Agok replied, "You cursed one, I will surely kill you!" And he killed him. When the witch doctors saw that, they all repented, and they were much afraid. Then the people scattered.

And Agok was called king by the people. The people listened to his words (were obedient to him). They used to say, "If any man becomes sick, he goes to Agok, that he may be helped." He gives him (that is, the one who wants help gives to Agok) cattle, two cows, one cow is speared (sacrificed), and one he keeps alive, it becomes the cow of *jwok*. [755]

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[1] "god".

[2] It is not meant that Agok went to wake him, but he wakened him in a vision.

I. CREATION.

71. The Creation of Man.

539 [illegible]

539 773 The cow is our grandmother, she bore a gourd. Our father is God. We were two of us born by God, (a black one and a white one). The black one was beloved by his mother, but the white one was hated. When God came, she showed him the white one, but the black one she hid. God asked, "Why do you hide him?" She said, "For nothing." Then God said, "Well, do but hide him, I like the white one." The black people shall be ruled by the white people. On that she brought the black one out too. God asked, "Why do you bring him out?" She said: "Oh, I just brought him out (without any special reason)."

To the white one were given the book, and the gun, and the sword, and all kinds of goods, he is loved by God. So now the black people are governed by the white.

71 a. On Totemism.

539 [illegible]

[illegible]

539 773 The ostrich and the crow and *Dịṅ*[1] were split[2] out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. *Dịṅ* went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by *Dịṅ*. *Abuọ* (the son of *Dịṅ*) came in the time of *Duọgọ* (a brother of *Ñikaŋ*), he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many, some went to *Fotilịlị Oduọjịọ*, but some remained at *Fotiduai*.

Remarks see on page 179.

Then we separated from each other. Our grandfather was *[illegible]*, a son of *[illegible]*; he came into the Shilluk country; it is he who married *[illegible]*. He was king. That is the beginning of (the village of) *[illegible]*. — The ostrich and the crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the family-sickness. 531b 773

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[1] [illegible] "our grandmother". Here, as is sometimes the case, the pronoun of the third person sing. has the meaning of the first person pl. [176]
[2] There is only, viz. a [illegible].
[3] With the exception of the first sentence this report is correct, because it [illegible] to white and black men.
[4] These three are the "parents" not of the whole Shilluk people, but only of the tribe *[illegible]*, which lives in the middle of the Shilluk. Each tribe has its own "parents", which generally are animals.
[5] This means: the cow (see page 178) brought forth a gourd, the gourd split, then out of it came forth the ostrich, etc.

XI. ANIMAL STORIES.

72. Hare and Hyena.

*631 *Afọnjọ ẹ¹ wẹtọ kị jwọk. ò bẹdọ kị pị yat, jwọk ẹ́ nīnọ, kà áfōnjọ*
Hare he travels with *jwok*,² he stays in under tree, *jwok* he sleeps, and hare
ẹ́ bẹdọ mal. Kẹ ji kīnọ, gi gi: afọnjọ kọ: ḍọnị mal, lwẹ
he stays upright. And people come, they many; hare says: rise up, war
ẹ́ bì. Jwọk ò kò kịnẹ: bẹdọ you. Kà lùm ẹ́ kẹnọ, kịmọ mak
has come. *Jwok* he says thus: stay just. And war it comes, begins to seize
afọnjọ kị jwọk. Jwọk ò kọ: afọnjọ, mak tyẹlā,³ kà tyẹlọ mak, kà
hare and *jwok*. *Jwok* says: hare, seize foot my, and foot his seized, and
jwọk ẹ́ wẹny. Kà lùm ẹ́ kẹdọ, kà jwọk ò kọ: afọnjọ, kẹtị! Kà afọnjọ
jwok he disappears. And war it goes, and *jwok* says: hare, go! And hare
kẹdọ, afọnjọ kẹtị⁴ gị ọtwọŋ, kò: ọtwọŋ! kịnẹ: ẹ? kịnẹ: wọ fò wẹtọ?⁵
goes, hare went to hyena, says: hyena! thus: eh? thus: we not shall travel?
ẹ́ kò: ẹẹ! Kà gị kẹdọ. Kà gị kẹtị⁶ tẹ yat, kà lùm ẹ́ kẹnọ,
he says: yes! And they go. And they went below tree, and war it comes,
afọnjọ ẹ́ nīnọ, ọtwọŋ bẹdọ mal, ọtwọŋ ẹ kọ: afọnjọ, lùm ẹ́ bì! ẹ kọ:
hare he sleeps, hyena stays up, hyena he says: hare, war he came! he says:
bẹdọ you! Kà lùm ẹ́ ọtịnọ, afọnjọ kọ: mak tyẹlā! kà afọnjọ
stay just! And war he approaches, hare says: seize my foot, and hare
nị gọ̄kā wịjẹ fìn; fìn dìt, kà afọnjọ rīnọ, kà
continually struck his head ground; ground was hard, and hare ran, and
ọtwọŋ mak, kà ọtwọŋ podị, kà podị kị dịch. Kà
hyena was caught, and hyena was beaten, and was beaten thoroughly. And
wẹ, kà wẹkị ḍaŋ kị wịj. Kà afọnjọ kẹnọ, kịnẹ:⁶ ọtwọŋ!⁷ kịnẹ:
got free, and was given cow and bull. And hare comes, thus: hare! thus:
ẹ? kịnẹ: jwọk ẹ́ kò ne yu; kịnẹ ẹ? kịnẹ: wẹkị yan wịj. Ẹ kò:
eh? thus: *jwok* he says thus; thus: eh? thus: give me ox. He says:
kị(ŋọ)? kịnẹ: yā podị tyẹn. Kà wọnẹ wẹkị; kà gị kẹdọ. Kà gị
why? thus: I was beaten too. And ox gave; and they go. And they
kẹnọ lwọl, mẹn ẹyẹ ḍaŋ; kà afọnjọ kẹlā lwọlẹ, afọnjọ ẹ
bring calabashes, which milk cow; and hare brought cal. his, hare he
kọ: yānā ẹyẹdọ. Kà lwọlẹ kẹlẹ, kà gọ tọyẹ. kà lwọlẹ kẹlẹ,
says: I it, milks. And cal. his brings he, and it pierces he, and cal. brings he,
kà lwọlẹ ọtwọŋ chịp mal, kà lwọlẹ afọnjọ yịna fìn, kà nị
and cal. of hyena was put above, and cal. of hare was below, and continu-
ẹyẹdọ, kà chāk nị kẹtọ fìn, yẹch lwọlẹ afọnjọ, kà lwọlẹ ọtwọŋ
ally milked and milk cont. went below, middle of cal. of hare, cal. of hyena

Remarks referring to XI. vide on page 198.

a̱ fòò yi̱ dhùi. Dhùi chàmá[9] *yi̱ otwọŋ, afwọjo a̱ mádhì chak. Afwọjo*
filled with foam. Foam was eaten by hyena, hare drank milk. Hare
châd. Ka afwọjo e ko: nèk wá noráw! ka noráw nèk, ka otwọŋ
became fat. Hare he said: kill we calf, calf was killed, hyena
e ko: amęn a dàk?
he said: who will milk?

Afwọjo e ko: yán! kine: dàch! Afwọjo ko: a bịn dhùi, ka dhaŋ
Hare he says: I! thus: allright! Hare says: if comes foam, then cow
e dàv; dhùi bàgęn, dhaŋ mádhì; ka chak a̱ dìt yi̱
has let down the milk; foam not, cow not yet; and milk was cooked by
afwọjo bę̀n, afwọjo chwèṇ mìdhì. Chak bàgęn, mę a̱ mádhì yi̱ otwọŋ.
hare all, hare his liver sweet. Milk not which was drunk by hyena.
otwọŋ gwàlo. Jwọk e bịnì, ko: yi̱ rè gwàl yín?[10] *Otwọŋ ko:*
hyena was thin. Jwọk he comes, says: you why thin you? Hyena says:
chak a̱ madhe yi̱ afwọjo bęn. Jwọk e ko: kwan wìnỵ dwọ̀n, nwọ̀k afwọjo!
milk is drunk by hyena all. Jwọk says: take rope now, seize hare!
wìnỵ kẹ̀l kà mák afwọjo, afwọjo cha gọ̀nì, kà gọ̀n,
rope was brought and seized hare, hare wanted release, and was released,
ka otwọŋ e bịn, ka dhùi chám é wotį, ka afwọjo dịl,
and hyena he came and foam wanted to disappear, and hare was tugged,
ka afwọjo é yṳdhì, kine: bọ̀ŋ![11] *yá rè nèkí yán kį́fo chak?*
and hare fell, thus: bọ̀ŋ! I why kills he me because of milk?
otwọŋ á̱ bwọ̀, Dọ̀chį[12] *ko: yá kà kẹ kwàì. Kà e kẹ̀dhì.*
hyena was silent. To-morrow said: I go for herding. And he goes.

Ka tùŋį dhaŋ chwèchį[13] *ẹn kį lọ̀bọ̀. Ka e rùṇ yịį.*
Horns of cow is formed by him with mud. And he ran to him,
ko: otwọŋ! kine: kẹ̀l tiàn dwàl, dhaŋ a chẹ̀n. Ka otwọŋ e
says: hyena! thus: spear waterbuck in front, cow is behind. And hyena he
bịn, ka dhaŋ kẹ̀l kà é ko: bọ̀ŋ! Yá ko: kẹ̀l tiàn
came, and cow speared, and (hare) says: bọ̀ŋ! I said: spear waterbuck
a chẹ̀n, wu chwak dàŋ kį dhaŋ, a nẹ̀gí, yu[14] *cham gìŋ? Ka ye ko:*
behind, you do what with cow, killed you, you eat what? And he said:
kẹ̀ dìtį mách! Kine: mach kạ̀ŋạ? Kà ò ko: a chìnè. Ka otwọŋ e
go fetch fire! Thus: fire where? And he says: it is yonder. And hyena he
kẹ̀dhì, ka mach ywòdhí é bàgęn, ka e dwọ̀k, ka rùŋ ywòdhí gẹ
goes, and fire found he it was not, and he returned, and meat finds he it
kẹ̀l yi̱ afwọjọ; ka afwọjọ e ko: yí rè dwọ̀k? otwọŋ e ko:
was carried by hare; and hare he says: you why return? Hyena he says:
mach bàgęn; kine: dhaŋ á kẹ̀l yi̱ jwọk; ka wich kwọ̀n fòn; kà
fire is not; thus: cow was carried by jwọk; and head was buried ground; and
ò ko: kẹ̀l mẹ̀n mẹ́ wọ̀k! Afwọjọ mẹ a kwoń yi̱ ẹ̀n, ka otwọŋ mẹ yịk
he says: pull which his out! Hare his was dug by him, and hyena his was

*539 *matḙk, ka afoajọ mẹ kḙl wẹk, ka oṭwọṇ mẹ á ḍàlì, ka oṭwọṇ kâṭó*[14]
hard, and hare his pulled out, and hyena his was difficult, and hyena went
gọ̀lḙ, ka afoajọ kâṭá gọ̀lḙ, ka oṭwọṇ wora wọ̄dḗ, kine: kẹṭ, dwai
home his, hare went home his, hyena sent son his, thus: go, bring
mach gọl afoajọ. Ka ńa ńẹl ṭẹ̄n e bẽ̄ṇọ, eko: yá kwàtjá mach, ka afoajọ
fire home of hare. And the little child comes, says: I beg fire, hare
ko: bi dwani; ka afoajọ eko: yí kẹ́ lḗṭ màl, jiṭẹ̄ṭọ ù dḗm
says: come, get; and hare says: you not look upward, pepper will fall
wańi, ka ńa ńẹl ṭẹ̄n lḗdá mal, ka kẹ̄ti yi wíyẹ̀; e ko:
your eye, and little child looked upwards, and went to his father; he says:
riṅọ gīr kį wẹt afoajọ. Ka oṭwọṇ é kọ́pà loṭ ka wọ̄dẹ e kọpa loṭ.
meat much in house of hare. And hyena he took club and his son took club.
Ka gẹ bẽ̄ṇọ, ka afoajọ kẹ̄dọ ṭá pyẹ̀nọ̀, ka kọfa wọ̄dẹ ko: pwótì
And they come, and hare goes under skin, and told his son, said: beat
yán! Ka é ywọ̀ŋi, e ko: faṭ kį yan kẹ̄ṭà; wak oṭwọṇ. Ka oṭwọṇ é
me! And he cried, he said: not with me alone me; also hyena. And hyena he
rẹ̄ṅ, rẹṅa pọ̄l, ka oṭwọṇ ye bwọ̀gọ̀, afoajọ chwıṅ mẹ̀dọ̀.
ran, ran bush, and hyena he fears, hare his liver sweet.

The hare travelled with jwok. They rested under a tree; jwok was sleeping, and the hare remained awake. Then many people came and the hare said, "Arise! a war (an army) has come." "But", said jwok, "never mind." And the war came and was going to seize the hare and jwok. Then jwok said: "Hare, seize my feet!" He seized his feet, and suddenly jwok and the hare disappeared. The war passed by, and jwok said, "Hare, go!" The hare went; he went to a hyena and said to her, "Hyena!" "Eh!" said the hyena. "Shall we not travel together?" asked the hare. "Surely," replied the hyena. And they went. They went under a tree, and a war came; the hare was asleep, but the hyena was awake. "Hare", the hyena said, "war has come". "Never mind", replied the hare. When the war came, the hare said to the hyena, "Seize my feet!" The hare beat his head on the ground (wanting to disappear as jwok had done), but the ground was hard. The hare, seeing this, ran away, but the hyena was caught and was beaten pitifully. At last he got free; and they gave him a cow and a bull. Then the hare came, saying, "Hyena!" "Eh!" he replied. Said the hare, "Jwok has said thus"..... "Eh!" replied the hyena. The hare went on, "You must give me the bull." "Why?" said the hyena. "Because", replied the hare, "I also was beaten." He gave him the bull, and they went their way. Then they brought calabashes, such as are used for milking cows. The hare brought his calabash and said, "I will milk." And he brought another calabash (the hyena's), and pierced it, and he placed the hyena's calabash above, so that his own was below. When he milked, the milk ran down into his own calabash, and the

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calabash of the hyena became full of foam. The foam was eaten by the hyena, and the hare drank the milk. So the hare became fat. One day he said to the hyena, "Let us kill the calf!" And the calf was butchered. Then the hyena said, "Who shall suck now?" "I," answered the hare. "All right," said the hyena. "When the foam comes," replied the hare, "the cow has let down the milk; as long as there is no foam, it has not." (When the natives want to milk a cow, they let the calf suck the udder first, as without this the cow will not let down her milk. The hare wants to take the place of the calf, so that he may suck all the milk, leaving to the hyena only the small quantity of foam which comes out when the milk is finished.) So the hare sucked all the milk and was much pleased. But there was no milk left for the hyena, and he became thin. One day, jwok came and said, "Why are you so thin?" "The hare always drinks all the milk," said the hyena. Jwok said, "Take a rope and bind the hare." A rope was brought, and he bound the hare. The hare struggled to release himself, and he succeeded (but the loose rope was still round his neck. He ran to the cow and began sucking again). Then the hyena came, and when the foam was disappearing, he pulled the hare away by force, so that the hare fell on his back. "Oho," he said, "on account of a little milk he is going to kill me?" The hyena remained silent. The next morning, the hare said, "I am going to herd the cow." So he went. He formed cow-horns of mud (and placed them in the grass, so that they looked like the horns of a living cow). Then he ran to the hyena and said (pointing to the real cow), "Hyena, spear the waterbuck there in front! the cow is behind!" The hyena came and speared the cow; then said the hare, "Oho! (what have you done)! Did I not tell you to spear the waterbuck behind? What have you done with the cow? You have killed it! What will you eat now?" Then he said, "Go and fetch fire (that we may cook the meat)." "Where is fire?" asked the hyena. "Over there," answered the hare. The hyena went, but he saw there was no fire, so he returned. He saw that meanwhile all the meat had been carried away by the hare. "Why do you come back?" said the hare. "Because there is no fire," answered the hyena. Said the hare: "The meat has been carried away by jwok; but the head he has buried in the ground (as our portion)." And he said: "Let each pull out his part!" The hare pulled his part out, but the hyena's part was hard (would not come out). The hare got his part, but the hyena did not succeed in pulling his out. So he went home; the hare, too, went home. After some time, the hyena sent his son to the hare saying, "Go and bring fire from the home of the hare." The little child came and said, "Please give me fire!" The hare said, "Come and get it. But do not look up, lest pepper fall into your eye" (this was to prevent the child from seeing the meat of the cow which he had stolen and

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brought home). The child looked upward and saw the meat. Then he went home to his father and said, "There is plenty of meat in the house of the hare." When the hyena heard that, he took a club and said to his child, "Take also a club!" When they came, the hare went under his sleeping-skin and said to his son, "Beat me!" And he cried, "It was not I alone, the hyena too!"[15] When the hyena heard that, he ran away into the bush. The hyena was much afraid; the hare was very pleased.

73. The Monkey and the Lion.

Aywóm yà fa̱l; ká ńù é bę̄nò̱ ki yię bę̱ mā̱ţ ki̱ pi, ka fa̱dǫ yey bur. Ka lgi bę̄nǫ bę̱ mā̱ţ ki̱ pi; ká ńù yót ki̱ pén ki̱ yéy bùr, ka lgi ę̧ rę̄n. Ka aywom bę̄nǫ, ká ńù lę̄ţè ę́n, ka ę rę̄n. Ka ńu ko: ką̄lēá wǭk! aywom ko: yí dúǭǹ! e ko: ę̧, ya u̱ (yǫ u̱) ka̱l wǫk i̱[16] yín. E ko: ka̱l yiébi, u̱[17] mákè yán tin, ká yí pa̱r māl, ka ya pa̱rǫ māl bāńi̱, ká wá bǭ wǫk. E kǫ dô (dę yi u̱) chāmí yan! E ko: ę̧, yí fā chāmè yán, yín woţǫ[18] di chǭn, yi fa chāmè yán. Ka aywom yiębę kiţe pén, ká mák yí̱ ńù; ka aywom pa̱ra mâl, ka gę bia wǫk. Ká ńù e ko: yá dâ kęch. E ko: bùtè[19] chań ádę̄k, ya na̱tí chām. E ko: yí kámá chāmi yán, gik aywom. E ko: ńę̧; ki̱ne: wá kę̧̄dò yi ógwǫk, ogwǫk jāńǫ duǫ́ń. Ka aywom e ko: ógwǭ̧gí![20] Ye kudǭ,[21] é chwǫtǫ: ógwǭ̧gí! Ki̱ne: ha! Kine: bi! Ki̱ne: ânò? Ki̱ne: bi! wa da kwóp! Ki̱ne: â gin ânò? Aywom ko: ńù ką̄lá wǫk, ka a ką̄lé wǫ́k, dę́ chę (= chaka) chāme yán, dę́ bę̄d âdi ànàn? Ogwǫk e ko: ę̧, fā dúgǹ? Kwách wa juǫ́k ànàn ú chàm. Ka ogwǫk chi̱ńę ti̱ńé mál, ki̱ aywom ki̱ ńu, kā ogwǫk é lāmò̱, kwaché jwǫk, nę̄ná mál. Ka ogwǫk e ko: yina jwǫk, lę̄ńí ki̱ kwǭ̧fá, fa yín a chwách ńù é duǫ́ń ki̱fa u̱ chām wǫn? Kā ńù chyęn ákyę̄l ti̱ńa mál, chyęn ákyę̄l mi̱ţí̱ aywom; ka ógwǭ̧k è ko: faţ ki̱ ki̱nau, kwǫpa fa lę̄ń yi jwǫk, tīń chini mál bę̄n, ká ńù chinę ti̱ńe mal. Ka ńeká būt aywom, ka ógwǭ̧k e lāmǫ, ki̱ne: Dę̄ fyech yín ye rę̄n kę̧dì; wá jāţ. Aywom ki̱ne: yán yá rę̄n ki̱ne, ka rę̄ńa mál wiy yaţ. Ógwǭ̧k è kò: âwó, kínâu. Ogwǭ̧k rę̄na wǫt. Ká ńù è dǭ̧ńǫ ką̄ţę̧. Ńu ko: ka dę ńâjá nau! ogwǭ̧k dę̄ mákè yán ki̱ne. Ka aywom mákè yán ki̱ne; ka ogwǭ̧k chāmè yán ki̱ tyę̄l amalǫ, ka dywóm chāmè yán ki̱ chǭn. — A ţùmi̱.

The monkey was in the bush. And a lion came to him to drink water; and he fell into the well. Then some animal came to drink water; when it found the lion in the well, it ran away. The monkey came and saw the lion and ran away. The lion said, "Come to me." The monkey came, and the lion said to him, "Pull me out!" The monkey said, "You are heavy." He answered, "No, I want to be pulled out by you!" He said again, "Stretch down your tail, that I may seize it at once. Then you jump up, and I will jump after you; so we shall get out." The monkey said, "But then you will eat me!" He answered, "No, I will not eat you, you will live (stay) forever; you will not be eaten by me." So the monkey put his tail down, and it was seized by the lion. The monkey jumped up, and

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the lion too jumped up, and they got out. Now the lion said, "I am hungry; I remained three days without eating anything." The monkey replied, "You are going to eat me!" Talk of the monkey. The lion replied, "Yes". "Let us go to the fox, the fox is a great judge, replied the monkey." (They went, and when they had arrived) the monkey called, "Fox!" He was silent. He called again, "Fox!" He answered, "Ha?" He said, "Come!" The fox said, "What is the matter?" He answered, "We have something (to propound)." The fox asked, "What? The monkey answered, "This lion I pulled out, and when he was pulled out, he wanted to eat me; but how is that now?" The fox said, "Is he not great?"[22] (Then he said,) "Let us pray to God, (and after that) he may eat (you)." And the fox raised his hands up (praying). And the monkey and the lion and the fox, they all prayed; he (the fox) begged God, he looked upwards and said, "O God, hear my words! is it not thou who madest the lion to be big, that he might eat us?" And the lion lifted one paw up, and with one paw he seized the monkey."[23] Then the fox said, "Not so! or my prayer will not be heard by God; lift both your paws up!" The lion lifted both his paws up. And he moved towards the side of the lion. The fox prayed, saying, "We ask thee, how shall he run? (we pray thee, teach the monkey how to run) we do not know it." Then the monkey said, "As for me, I run thus." And he ran away along the top of a tree. The fox said, "Very well, just so!" and he ran home. So the lion as left alone. He said, "If I had but known about that, I would have caught the fox thus, and the monkey I would have caught thus, and the fox I would have eaten first, and after that I would have eaten the monkey." It is finished.

74. The Dog and the Fox.

The dog went into the bush; there he met the fox. And the dog said, "Friend. what are you doing in the bush? Go home (into the village)!" He said, "What shall we do in the village?" The dog said, "My master is accustomed to give one calf (whenever I come to him)." And he went with him. The dog went into the home, the fox remained outside the enclosure. The dog took some food, and he was beaten (by the people) with a club. He cried and ran into the bush. The fox asked him, "Why do you cry?" He answered, "O, I am (only) being educated (that's why I was beaten)." But the fox refused (to live with him), he ran away and ran into the bush, and he remained in the bush.

75. The Hare and the Hyena.

The hare went into the bush to make an ambach-boat. one for spearing fish. He sat down in it, pulled the fish out and roasted them. The hyena came and

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said, "To-day I have found you[24] ("you have been found by me")." The hare said. "Sit down, taste the food, my (elder) brother!" And he gave him fins of the fish. He asked him, "From where have you brought them?" The hare answered, "I have brought them from the river;" then he said to the hyena, "Put one of your members into this hole (then you will get fish)." The hyena went and put one of his members into the hole, and he was bitten, and he cried. He lay down (being sick from his wound). When he had recovered, he went into the bush and found the hare. He said to him, "I have found you (at last)!" The hare said, "Keep still, keep still!" He climbed a Nabag-tree, and threw Nabag-fruit down; the hyena remained under the Nabag-tree and ate the fruit; the hare went away and left the hyena eating.[25]

76. The Lion and the Fox.

Ṅù bę̂nọ̱, ye da ṅyę́ṅ, bię yi bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀, e ko: bọ̱̀ḍọ̱́, ṭaṭ tọ̀ṅá agàk! ká ógwộ̱k é bę̂nọ̱, ye da ṅyę́ṅ, bię yi bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀, e ko: tọ̀ṅá àgàk ṭaṭ gę́n! Ká bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀ kò: ṅù tọ̀ṅę̀ nū́ti yȧ,[26] ká ógwộ̱k è kò: ṅù fàṭè[27] wát bâṅȧ? Kịne: wat báṅí kịdi? E ko: kudi au, ụ bę̂n ṅù tīn kōpị kịne: ógwộ̱k è kò: yí fà wat bâṅę? Ká ṅù bę̂nọ̱, kịne: bọ̱̀ḍọ̱́![28] Kịne: gṛę tọ̀ṅa chộ̱gí, fa ṭûṭè yín?[29] Kịne: ógwộ̱k fan ęn a kọ̱l tộ̱ṅę̀, yi ṭaṭ mộ̱tí. Ya kịne: ṅù kụ́ wêr? (ógwộ̱k) kịne: ę̂, fá wêr, fa wat bâṅȧ? Ká ṅù kò: mọ́k dọ̀ṅ? Kịne: ṅę̀. Ṅù kò: yá dwai ę́n, ụ yịk kwọ̱fi (ę)ne fa fyęt, yí chȃmè chȁmọ̀,[30] kọ̀fọ̱́ bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀. Ká bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀ kò kịne: dọ̱̄ch, kęṭ dwai. Ka ṅu kęḍọ̱, ka ogwọ̱̄ge yôt, ę̂ bùḍọ̱ kị́ yǒ, e ko: chę (= chaka) da jwọ̱k; dę̌ é chùḍọ̀. Ká ṅù ko: yí rè chúdí (chúri)? ṅiṅę dâ lę́ṅ; yé kò: edi? E ko: áwę̀n? Kịne: dwà; kịne kị mę̂n? Kịne wú kú (= wú kị wú) bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀. Kịne: ḍwoṭ! yú kwáṅè yán. Ká ḍwọ̀ṭá mâl, ká ṅù kò: yę̀ṭí kwọ̀mȧ. Ká è ko: pąm má fâṭ,[31] ę gwộ̱k ę̀ dî? Kịne: kịṭe kwọ̱mȧ! Ká è kò: áchịchwộ̱l má faṭ, é gwộ̱k ę̀dî? E ko: kịṭe ḍógȧ! Ka e kịṭị ḍógę̀, ká è ko: dę dęl má fâṭ, é gwộk ę̀dî? E ko: kwàṅ! Ka kwâṅ yi ógwộ̱k, ká yę̀ṭá mâl, kwòm ṅù. Ká gę́ bę̂nọ̱ kị́ ṅù, ká gę́ kę́ḍọ̱̀; pach é chȃṅọ̱, ká ṅù gọ́chè yi ógwộ̱k kị́ dę̀l, ká ṅù é rę́ṅọ̱, ka pwôtè yi ógwộ̱k, ká gę ríṅọ̀, ríṅę yì bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀, ká bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀ ḍwooṭá mâl, ká ógwộ̱k è ko: bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀,[32] lēṭe (lịṭí) yán! fàṭè wọt bâṅȧ? bọ̱̀ḍọ̱̀ ko: àwọ́, wọt bâṅì! yi kama dîr. Ká gę́ kę́ḍọ̱̀, gę́ ríṅọ̀ kun a de wọt ógwộ̱k, ká wọt ogwộ̱k é wàpọ̱. Ka ogwọk fárá fę́ṅ, ka rę́ṅá wọt, ká mákè[33] ṅù kị yiębę̀, ka wiy yiębę é chộ̱ḍọ̀, ká ṅù kò: kęṭ, yí rúm kị ṭọ̀ṭọ̱ kị ṅējī. Ká é bọ̱̀ḍọ̀. Ká ṅù kęṭa fârę̀. Ká é kàṅọ̱ kị lại, ká lại ṭâl, ká tę̀rọ̀ dwâi ę́ bę̂nę̀. Ká tę̀rọ̀ bę̂nọ̱ kị ogwọ̱̄k, ogwộ̱k gîr bę̄nọ kị ogwọṅ ęni, ęn á pwôt ṅu, nút ṭyàu. Ká gę́ kęḍọ yi pwọ́ḍọ́, ká óchộ̱yọ̱ ywôt é gīr, ka ógwộ̱k a fwôt ṅù, e ko ne, tọ̀jọ̀ kị óchộ̱yọ̱ kị yièpé,[34] ka mę́nọ̱ yiébę̀ ṅị́ twóch ke ri óchộ̱yọ̱, ká ogwọṅ ęni, mę twóchè ę́n ę̂ lȁṅọ̱, ká e ko: ręṅe tę̀rọ̀ fá (= fach) ṅù. Ká gę́ rę́ṅọ̀, ka yiebę[35] bọ̀ḍọ̱, ká ógwộ̱kè męne yiebę ṅị́ chộ̱ḍọ̀, ka yiépé gę́n é ṭùmọ̀ kị́ chọ̱̄ṭọ. Ká gę́ wàpọ̱, ká ṅù ywôt kị́ tę̀rọ̀ bę̂nè,

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ká ṅù é pęchǫ̀ kįne: wú bì bę̄ṅá? Kįne ę̨; ka ogwǭk ṅáje ę́n, e ko: yí bì ţyàu? E ko: ę̨. E ko: wá u yę̀l wa mę́n? Ká é kò: yá chàm ádì? Kįne: faţe yín a pwǭtì yán? Kįne: ę́! dwǭn? Kįne: óţyę̀ṅǫ̀; kįne: ę́! yí chaka tǒdǫ̀! Ṅù kò: yiebi nūtı ṅǫ̀lè yan? Kįne: ágǒn ę́n? Kįne: ànáṅǫ́! Kįne: dę̀ faţe yan kę̄ta! Kįne: dá wú kį mę́n? Ogwǭk e ko: faţe wá bę̄ṅá? Kįne: àrá, bi lę̄ţ! Ka ṅu bę̄ṅǫ, ká gę lę̄ţ, męn yíebę̀ chǫ̀dǫ̀, ká mę́n yíebę̀ chǫ̀dǫ̀, ka gę̀ bę̄n yiepe gęn chǫ̀dǫ̀, ká ṅù wíję mum, ye ko: bǫţu. Ká gę̀ wéyę́. Ká rìṅǫ̀ wékè tę̀rǫ̀, ká châm yi tę̄rǫ. Chǒţį, ká tę̀rǫ̀ é dáṅǫ̀, ká ṅù dǭṅǫ kį fārę.

A lion came with some iron to the smith and said, "Smith, make me these spears!" The fox too came, bringing iron to the smith, and said to him, "These spears, make them." The smith said, "The spear of the lion is still with me (unfinished)." The fox said, "Is he not my slave?" He said, "How your slave?" He replied, "You just keep quiet; as soon as the lion comes, tell him, 'The fox has said, you are his slave'." And the lion came and said, "Smith, why have you not yet finished my spear?" He answered, "The fox brought his spear (and said), 'Make it (= mine) first'. I said: 'Will the lion not be angry?' He said: 'No, he will not be angry; for is he not my slave?'" The lion replied, "Is that true?" The smith (said), "Yes." The lion (replied), "I shall bring him, and if your talk turns out to be a lie, I shall surely eat you;" this he said to the smith, and the smith replied, "All right, go, and bring him." So the lion went; he found the fox lying on the road; he pretended to be sick, he groaned. The lion said, "Why are you thus groaning?" — He, the lion, became angry ("his eye had war"). — He said to the fox, "How did you speak (to the smith)?" The fox asked, "When?" He answered, "Yesterday." The fox asked, "To whom?" The lion said, "To the smith. Get up, we will go!" He said, "I am sick." The lion replied. "Get up! I will help you." So he rose, and the lion said, "Climb upon my back!" The fox said, "There is somebody's saddle (there is a saddle, I do not know to whom it belongs), what shall I do with it?" He answered, "Put it on my back!" Then the fox said, "Here is somebody's chain (bridle), what shall I do with it?" The lion said, "Put it into my mouth." Again the fox said, "Here is somebody's whip, what shall I do with it?" The lion answered, "Take it!" So the fox took it, and he climbed on the lion's back. He came with the lion; they went along. When they approached the village, the fox beat the lion with the whip, and the lion ran. Again he whipped the lion, and they ran gallopping to the house of the smith. The smith looked up ("arose"), and the fox cried, "Smith, is he not my slave?" The smith answered, "Surely, your slave is he, you have told the truth." They went on and ran to the place where the house of the fox was. When the house of the fox came near, he jumped down and ran into the house. But the lion caught him by his

*539 tail, and the end of the tail broke off. The lion said, ”Go, I have given you a sufficient mark.“[26] He, the fox, sat down.

The lion went into his village, he brought game and cooked the game, and he brought (invited) all the people (that is, the animals).[27] The people came, and the foxes, many foxes came, and the fox who had beaten the lion was also present. (On the way to the lion's village) they came into a field and found plenty of melons, and the fox who had beaten the lion, said (to his companions), they should tie melons to their tails. So each one tied melons to his tail. And this particular fox tied the melons very loosely to his tail. Then he said, ”People, run to the village of the lion!“ And they ran. (While thus running) the melon slipped off his tail, but the tails of the other's broke off, all of them. When they approached, they found all the people with the lion. The lion asked, ”Have you all come?“ They replied, ”Yes.“ And the lion recognized the fox and asked him, ”You too have come?“ He replied, ”Yes.“ The lion, ”By whom shall we be reconciled (how can we, being enemies, eat at the same table)?“ The fox asked, ”What is the matter (”what have I become“)?“ The lion said, ”Is it not you who beat me?“ The fox said, ”What? you do lie!“ The lion said, ”Did I not cut off your tail?“ The fox replied, ”Where is it?“ The lion said, ”Here it is“ (showing the cut-off tail of the fox). The fox replied, ”But that is not I alone (i. e. the case with me only). The lion, ”Who beside you (”you and who“)?“ The fox, ”Is it not all of us? why, come and look!“ The lion came and looked at them, this one's tail was cut off, and that one's tail was cut off, all their tails were cut off. The lion did not know what to say (”his head was giddy“), and he said, ”You have escaped!“ He let them go, and the people were given meat, and the people ate. That is all. — The people scattered, and the lion was left in his village.

77. The Starling and the Centipede.

Ówâñọ bẹ̄dá (bẹ̄rá) rịṭ; ye da ḍean, ḍę̣ ywộp. Ka wiñg bẹ̄ng bẹ̄ne bẹ̄ne, ka ówâñọ ko: yinẹ ṭẹrọ, ḍea ywọ́p, dę̣ kwộp ñán á ywộbé! Ká ṭẹ̄rọ̀ mûmọ̀; é kò: bụ́h! ẹrẹ (ẹdẹ) ṭẹrọ á múmị? Ka ṭẹrọ ko: ywọ́p kúchị̀ wọ́n. Ka ólyáù é kò: yá-kị́-yān (yān?)-ṭẹ̄ṇ ñéná[28] nût, ywọp de kwộp yì yán! Ka rịṭ e ko: ṭọ́ṭu olyau kị́ ñịñ; ká mện ñị́ bàñọ̀. Ótôlè Kǫ̣ṭ e ko: yi kwañ ñíñá, ụ́ gẹ́ lịḍẹ̀ ywọ̀p, ụ́ rûmé, ká gẹ́ wẹ̄kè yán. Ka olyau ñịñg kwàñé, ká lịḍọ́ kûn, ka chị́gì lịṇì[29] kùn, ká lịḍọ́ mâl, ká lịḍọ́ yi ṭẹrọ, ka lịḍọ́ yi túlọ̀, e ko: túlọ̀! Kịne: ẹ́? Kịne: ẹ́rẹ̀ ḍe rịṭ a ywộbí? E ko: dwẹ́n? ya fa ywọp! Kịne yi re (ra) faṭ kị́ ywọ̀p? Kịne: náyó kúchị̀ yín? ẹ́ná ywọ̀p. Kịne: ná ámện? Kịne: náyó bệṭ; ẹna ñị́ nệné rệjọ́. E ko: faṭe ẹn a châlè yín? Chōṭị, ka ṭẹrẹ fûrá kwọ̀mè, ká pwôt yì ṭẹ̄rọ̀, ká é kẹṭị é rìñọ̀. Ka yoma wiy

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yaṭ. Á ṅį chǫ̈gį e búdǫ́ wiy yaṭ. Ká olyau é dúǫ̈gǫ̀. Ká ótöl Kǫṭ e ko: wēki yan ṅįṅá! E ko: ẹ̆, gẹ́ gwǫ̈gẹ́ ṅǫ̀? Ka owōṅǫ ko: wēki ṅįṅ olyau ụ gǫ ṅį tǫṅé ywǫ̀p. Chǫ̈ṭį, ótöl Kǫṭ é kẹ̈dǫ̀ ṅįṅ bógìn. Ka riṭ e ko: yü̆ (yi ụ) chàṭį kį dǫ̈ch; ẹ́ bógìn ụ chāmẹ̀ yín. Chǒṭį, a ṅį ṭáuwẹ́ e kẹ̄tẹ, e bogin chamẹ, a gyẹṭ yi riṭ.

The heron was king. He had a cow which was bewitched. And all the birds came, and the heron said to them, "Ye people, my cow is bewitched, tell me who has bewitched it." And the people were perplexed. He asked, "Dear me! why are the people so perplexed?" They said, "We do not know the wizard." Then the starling said, "O my goodness, if only I had my eyes, I would name the wizard." The king said, "Give the starling eyes!" But each one refused. At last the centipede *Kǫṭ* said, "Take my eyes, when the wizard has been found and the matter is finished, then give them back to me." The starling took the eyes, he looked in this direction and again looked in that direction; he looked upwards and looked at the people; and he looked at the owl saying, "Owl!" The owl replied, "Eh?" He said, "Why do you bewitch the cow of the king?" He said, "When? I am not a wizard." The starling replied, "Why should you not be a wizard? Do you not know your uncle? He is a wizard." The owl asked, "Who is my uncle?" He said, "The fish-spear is that uncle; it is he who sees the fish (in the water).[40] Does he not resemble you?" — That is all, and all the people (= the birds) jumped on his (the owl's) back, and he was beaten by the people; and he went away running. He fled to a tree. There he is accustomed to stay, on the top of trees.

When the starling returned, centipede *Kǫṭ* said, "Give me my eyes!" But he said, "No, what for?" And the heron said, "Give (= leave) the eyes to the starling, that he may always make manifest the wizards." — That is all, centipede *Kǫṭ* went away without eyes. And the king said to him, "Walk in peace! There is nobody who will eat you." That is all; he (the centipede) is accustomed to die of himself (not killed by other people, or through violence); nobody eats him. He is blessed by the king.

78. The Hare and Tapero.

Afoajǫ a kẹṭa mal bẹ̄ ywǫ́ṭǫ́ bûl; gǫ̀ kį nǫ̈n Ṯápẹ̈rǫ̀. Ka afoajǫ būl chǫ́ṅ, ká bül chǫ́ṅ kį mal. Ka Ṯapẹ̄rǫ e dǫ̈ṅǫ̀ wǫk, ẹ pá dwâi yį ṅan a dāchǫ. Ka afoajǫ dwâi yį ṅan a dāchǫ; ka gẹ chǫ̈ṅǫ́ būl, ka Tāpẹ̄rǫ dǫ̈ṅǫ wǫk, ẹ́ fa dwâi yį ṅan a dāchǫ; ka afoajǫ dwâi à ẹ́n; ka bül dǫ̈ṅ, ka afoajǫ é chwǫ̈ṭǫ̀ kine: nǫ̈n Ṯāpẹ̄rǫ, wa fa kẹṭ? Ṯápẹ̈rǫ̀ è kùdǫ̀, chuṅẹ rach kifa dwâi afoajǫ. Ka Ṯāpẹ̄rǫ bia fén, afoajǫ á dǫ̈ṅǫ̀ màl. Ka afoajǫ é lòṅǫ̀ bẹ̈n, [illegible] tyẹlẹ mak kį akẹ́t, e ko: yá kẹ̈ṭá féṅ, yá dǫ̈gǫ́ fǫ̀ṭè wǫ́n. E ko: ụ yik yá ú wiṭè fén ụ jāk akẹ́t, ya wiṭį fǫ̀ṭè wǫ́n. Akẹt chǒ ṅwǫ̈jǫ́ kį jāgè; ẹ́ nūtí kį wiṭe féṅ, ka afoajǫ dẹ̈mǫ̀, ka e kẹ̈ṭǫ̀.

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The hare went up (into the air) to find a drum; he and his uncle Tapero. And the hare danced to the drum, he danced up in the air. But Tapero remained outside (the ring of the dancers), he was not selected (for dancing) by a girl.[41] But the hare was selected by the girls, and he danced with them. Again Tapero remained outside, he was not selected by a girl, but the hare was again selected, and danced. At last the dancers scattered. Then the hare called, "Uncle Tapero, shall we not go?" Tapero remained silent, he was angry because the hare had been selected. Tapero went down, but the hare remained above. Some time after the hare also came; he fastened his foot with a rope, and said (to Tapero?), "I am going down, I will return to our country." Again he said, "As soon as I come down to the ground and (I) pull the rope, I shall arrive in my country (at once)." But he pulled the rope too early, before he had reached the ground. So the hare fell down and was dashed to pieces.[42]

79. Who is King?

Afoajọ ńọmọ dachọ, gẹ́ kị́ ọ́ṭwọ̆n; dachọ mārọ ọ́ṭwọ̆n, dẹ afoajọ chệṭ yị dachọ. Ká gẹ́ wẹ̀lọ̀, ka gẹ ko kịne: nẹ́nị wọt dyệk; ka gẹ nẹṇọ, ka dyẹṅ[43] *nệk yị afoajọ, ka ọ́ṭwọ̆ṇ e nẹṇọ, ká wài ka gẹ wọ́ḍẹ́*[44] *ọ́ṭwọ̆ṇ; ka wọ́u è wuọ̀, ka afoajọ kẹṭ, ka ọ́twọ̆ṇ dọ̀ṅọ̀, e nẹ́nọ̀. Ka ńal ṭẹṇ bẹ̄ṇọ, ka e ko: yá nẹ́n! Ka oṭwọṇ ḍwoṭa mal, ka lị̄ṭẹ rẹ, ka wài lị̀ṭẹ rẹ, ka e ko: afoajọ á kộlị́ kệń? Ka ọrẹ̀ bẹ̄ṇọ, ká è kò: dyẹk á châm gẹ mện?*[45] *Kịne: dyẹk ba cham yi oṭwọṇ? Ka dệl è kộl, ka oṭwọṇ pwót, ká ńgmẹ̀ tàṅọ̀.*

Ka oṭwọṇ e kẹ́ḍọ̀, ka afoajọ yốtè yị ẹ́n (γẹ́n), é bùdọ̀ rech, ka e ko: wíńá teau,[46] *yí yốtè yán! Ka e ko kịne: ḍâṇ ńị́ bẹ̀lẹ́ gìgẹ́ mộṭí, ka ókọ̀k wẹ̄kị oṭwọṇ, ka e ko: ówà, chà mẹ̀ḍọ̀! Kịne: gẹ mayi gẹ kịdí? Kịne: gẹ ńị pâḍá (fāra) nam. Ka e ko: kẹṭ pā (pâr) nâm! Ka afoajọ pârá nam; ka ńa pyẹn dẹjẹ wá ńẹ̀ṭẹ̀. Ka oṭwọṇ e loṅọ pāre nam, ka nẹ́kè okọk bẹ̄ṇẹ, ka e ywọ̀ṅọ̀. Ka e kẹḍọ, oṭwọṇ, weyẹ gọ ywọ̀ṅọ̀.*

Ka afoajọ kẹḍọ é kẹ̀jẹ̀,[47] *ka ywoda lyẹch, gọ kuḍọ kọ̀ḍọ̀ kị tyẹlẹ, ká è kò: ówà kọlọ kọ̀ḍọ̀. Ka tyẹl lyẹch ńyẹ̀mẹ́ wọ̀k, ka lyẹch e kẹḍọ, ka è ṭọ̀; ka afoajọ kẹṭa yey lyẹch. Ka lyẹch, afoajọ mejẹ yẹ́jẹ̀, ka ẹ̀jàdọ̀ kị́ kẹ̀ń kọ̀lẹ́,*[48] *ká è kò: yí rè ba kwọ̀ṭ? U ya kọ̀lá bań kọ̀ṭọ́! Ka lyẹch e kwọ̀ḍọ̀; ka bia wọk.*

Ka lyẹch ya rịṭ, ka’ḍọgẹ ńị́ ńọṇe (ńwaṇe) kweṭ, ka dtèt e ko: ẹrẹ ḍọ (ḍọk) lyẹch a ńwaṇe kweṭ kị chāṅọ? Kịne: paṭe ḍọ rịṭ! Ka atet e kẹ́ḍọ̀, ká è tẹ̀ṅọ̀ kị́ àtẽ̀rọ́u, ka kā (= kẹḍọ) chân; ka lyẹch kâ yiẹ̀, ka y kẹ̀lẹ́ kị́ ḍọ́ gọ̀n, ka lyẹch pâḍọ̀, kâ kàl e kẹ̀ṭọ̀.

Ka ówâṅọ̀ ko: yí jẹ́kọ̀, ya bánẹ́ rịṭ! Ka rộń (γọń), ka tẹ̀rọ̀ ńị́ ká (= kẹṭa) nâm bẹ̀ mâi, ká lọ̀ṭ ńị́ mena pẹ́ń, ka nam ńị́ bẹ̀dá târ, ka djẽ ńị́ mâì kị rech. Ka loṭ kwâl yị̀ ògwàl, ka gọn wẹ̀kẹ́ kộṭ; ka kẹ́lè yi kọ̀ṭ. Ka okwóm ka pyech[49] *yị owāṅọ, kịne: loṭ e kwal yi mện? Kịne: kúchị yán. Ka bọ̀ṅọ́ pyẹ́ch, kịne: loṭ a kwâl yi*

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mẹn? Kịne: loṭ a kwâl yị ògwàl. Ka okwóm pyech yị owā̃ṅọ kịne: dẹ kṓbì ụ chame[30] *kíchị yin? Cham*[30] *nûtí ḷ̃ạ̄dẹ yin? Ka gọ́ch yị owā̃ṅọ.*

Ka taṅ kōbọ ogwal: wá̃ rā̀rọ̀! Ka taṅ ko: ogwál, tyẹ́lí chẹ̀kọ̀, tyẹlá bọ̀rọ̀. Ka ogwal e ko: wá̃ rā̀rọ̀. Ka gẹ rẹ́ṅọ̀, mẹn ya kẹ́ṅ, mẹn ya kẹṅ. Ogwal gî̱r kị yey péṅ bẹ̀ṅè, ka taṅ e ko: yọma ógwàl. Ká `gwàl è kò: yọmá taṅ. Ka taṅọ pịdọ, ka e pâ̱ḍọ̀, ka e ṯọ̀ yị ṅwọ̀ch.

Ka ólẹ̀ṭ ka é jẹ́kọ̀ rọṅ (γọṅ) riṭ, ka rộṅ, ka chip wij ábṍbọ̀. Ka ḍeaṅ nệk, ka oleṭ e ko: buli riṅọ! Ka riṅọ bûl, ká è kò: kộl riṅọ! Ka riṅọ chwộṅọ̀, ka chẹ́ká chwọ̀ṭọ̀; ka riṅọ e chwọ́ṅọ̀, ka pārà mâl, ka lāu lọṅ wij ábṍbọ̀, ka riṅọ gwárẹ̀. A chṍgẹ́, a chẹ́kà gwar.

A kwâṅ lau yị atwâk. A rọ̃ṅé, a kúchị́ lāu yị jāgọ, à pâ̱dị́. A kṍp ṯẹ̀rọ̀ kịne: wá̃ rọ̃ṅè mẹ́nâ? Kịne: rọ́ṅ ṅáu! A laṅ ṅau wâ̱r ẹ́ ṅẹ̀ṯọ̀ kịfa kwọ́pé rọ̀ṅè. Ka dẹṅẹ́ kwòdọ̀. Ka lẹ̃ṯẹ̀ nwọl, dẹṅ e kwódọ̀, ka ṯẹrọ ko: bụh! ẹ́dì ṅáu? A bẹ̃ (= bẹ̄aọ) dẹṅí ṅáù? ṅau ko kịne: yá làṅọ̀ wâ̱r yá ṅẹ̀ṯọ̀, ká ṯẹ̀rọ̀ ko: bụ́h! wẹ̀ì kị́ ụ rọ́ṅ![31] *a wei, a kẹ́ṯ ṯẹ̀rọ̀.*

A yâp jā̃gọ, ka jā̃gọ ya mátộk. Ka ṯẹrọ bẹ̄nọ, gẹ kōbọ kịne: wá̃ rọ̀ṅ mẹ́nâ? Rọ́ṅ ágàk![32] *Ka agak rọ́ṅ, ka e jẹ̀kọ̀ kị jàṅè dọ́ch. Ṅ́ị ṯọu lâ̱i kị pā̱l. Ka ṯẹrọ ṅị chyụkọ, kịne: wá̃ chwộl a mẹ́nâ? Kịne: chwọl jā̃gọ̀! A chwọl jā̃gọ, a bẹ̄ne ẹ́n agak, ka ṯẹrọ kōbọ kịne: jā̃gọ́, lạ̀i anaṅọ! Kwọṅ lâ̱i! a kẹḍọ bṹté lâ̱ì, a kwaṅ wáṅ gọn; ka e ḍúòḍọ̀, ka ṯẹrọ châm. A chộgị kị́ jàṅè dộch; a kṍp ṯẹ̀rọ̀ kịne: ágàk ban ọn jaṅe dộch!*

A gộy (= gọch) bû̱l, ká ṯẹ̀rọ̀ chọ̃ṅọ̀, ka bū̱l pwṓt; ka Ṯāpẹrọ kị túlọ̀ gẹ bẹ̄no, ka dwẫi yị ḍ̄āchọ.

The hare married a woman, he together with the hyena. The woman liked the hyena, but the hare was hated by her. And they travelled; and (the people to whom they came on their journey) said to them, "Sleep in the sheep house!"[33] So they slept, and sheep were killed by the hare, while the hyena slept, and he smeared the contents of the stomach on the hyena's mouth. When the day broke, the hare went away, he left the hyena sleeping. (In the morning) a boy came and asked, "May I come in?" Then the hyena arose, he looked at himself and saw the contents of the sheep's stomach on his body, he said, "Where is the hare?" The brother-in-law[34] came and asked the boy, "Who has eaten the sheep?" He answered, "Have the sheep not been eaten by the hyena?" Then a whip was brought, and the hyena was beaten, and his wife relinquished him (he was divorced from his wife).

And the hyena went away, and he found the hare roasting fish; he said to him, "You cursed hare, I have found you!" The hare said, "Every one is accustomed to eat his food first (before doing anything else)."[35] He gave the hyena an okok (a certain fish with sharp pricks); the hyena said, "Father, it

+539 seems to be good!" He asked again, "How do they catch it?" He answered, "They are accustomed to jump into the river (and thus catch it). The hyena said, "Go, jump into the river!" So the hare jumped into the river, but he bound a small skin around his waist (so that the thorns of the fish could not wound him). The hyena sprang after him into the river, but he was much bruised by the okok, and he screamed. And he (the hare) went away, he left the hyena screaming.

The hare went away to his place; he found an elephant who was taking a thorn out of his foot. The hare said, "My father is taking out a thorn." (He said to the elephant, "I will help you to take the thorn out", and) he cut the whole foot of the elephant off. Then the elephant went away almost dying from pain; the hare went into the belly of the elephant. The elephant shut the hare up in his belly, and he had difficulty in getting out. He said to the elephant, "Why do you not dung, that I may go out after your dunging?" The elephant dunged, and so the hare got out.

And the elephant was king. His cattle always scattered their dung on the road; and the ichneumon said, "Why do the cattle of the elephant always scatter their dung?" The people answered, "Are they not the cattle of the king?" And the ichneumon went and hewed a stick, and he went from behind to the elephant and stuck him in his trunk (stuck the stick into the trunk of the elephant); the elephant fell down (and died), and his house was destroyed.

Then the heron said, "I want to be king, I shall be king!" And he was elected, and the people went to the river to fish. They put a club into the river, which made the water clear, so the people used to catch fish. But the club was stolen by the frog; he gave it to the rain.[36] And the ibis was asked by the heron, "By whom has the club been stolen?" He said, "I do not know." Then the pelican was asked, "By whom has the club been stolen?" He answered, "The club has been stolen by the frog." Then the ibis was asked by the heron, "How could you say you did not know? Had you not seen it?" And he was beaten by the heron.

And to the waterbuck the frog said, "Let us run a race!" The waterbuck said, "Frog, your legs are short, but my legs are long." But the frog said, "(Never mind,) let us run!" And they ran. The one stood here, and the other stood there. But there were many frogs everywhere in the ground. And the waterbuck said, "I have beaten (surpassed) the frog!" But (always) a frog cried, "I have beaten the waterbuck." At last the waterbuck was tired, and he fell down and died on account of his running.

Then the hawk wanted to be king, and he was elected. He placed himself on an ambach-tree, and a cow was killed (on the occasion of the election of a new king), and the hawk said: "Roast meat!" And meat was roasted. Then he said: "Bring meat!" And the meat came not quickly; so he called again for meat, and yet it did not come. He flew up and left the (royal) clothes on the ambach, he snatched the meat; (from that time) he has always remained in the habit of snatching meat.

The royal clothes were taken by the atwak, but he did not know how to behave in royal clothes, therefore he was driven away. Then the people said, "Whom shall we elect?" It was said, "Let us elect the cat!" (When the cat heard that) she spent a whole night in laughing, because of the plan of electing her. And her jaws swelled from laughing. When the next morning the people saw that her jaw was swollen, they said, "Why! what is the matter with the cat? Why is your jaw thus?" She answered, "I spent a night in laughing." The people replied, "Leave her alone, she is not to be elected." The people went away.

They looked for a king; there was no one who might become king. So the people came saying, "Whom shall we elect? Let us elect the crow!" And the crow was elected. He reigned very well. The game died in the bush. And the people were at a loss, they said, "Whom shall we call?" It was said, "Call the king." The king was called; he came, he, the crow. And the people said, "King, here is a game, taste the game!" He went to the game and took (picked) its eye out. Then he arose, and the people ate. He continued to reign well. And the people said, "The crow, he is a good king."

A drum was beaten. The people danced. And the drum was beaten again, and Tapero and the owl came, and he was selected by a woman for dancing.[51]

80. The Hare.

Afoajọ a wẹ̄lị fōṭẹ rịṭ, ka ywòdá ṅọ̄r; ṅọr gīr, ka fẹ̄ka fen bẹ chám. Ká é rúm, ka gẹ chọṅ kấní; ka aṭẹp faṅ yi gẹ́n. Ka amàlọ̀ dwâi, ka aṭẹp kwaṅ, ka gẹ chịp wich amal, ká gọ̀ gẹ̄chị́, kịne: chấṭí! Ka amalọ (amọlọ) é bàṅọ̀, ká gọ̀ chị́gí gẹ̄chọ̀.

A kẹṭị áfoàjọ kẹ̄ṭị́, a dwâi kyẹ̀ṅ, a yīj aṭẹ̄p, a kị́ṭị́ kwọ̀m kyẹṅ. A ódń chấṭọ̀. A gẹ̄chị́ gọ̀n; chámọ́ kẹ́ḍẹ́ a chígá fụ̄ḍọ̀; a kọ: bṳ́h! Afoajọ kịne: bṳ́h! aṭẹp ú gwọ́k ẹ̄dì? A dẹ̄ṅ kị́ kyẹ̀ṅ, a kẹḍọ afoajọ, a dwai ḍeaṅ, a yē̄j aṭẹp wijẹ. A lẹ̄ṅé aṭẹ̄p fén yi ḍeaṅ, a kōbọ afoajọ: yí rè lẹ̄ṅi aṭẹ̄p fén? Ko: yí rè nẫgí jè? yai bẹ̄ḍọ̀! A kẹ̄ṭị, a dọ́ṅ afoajọ, a ṅấṅ afoajọ, aṭẹp ú tích èdì? A chị́gí dọ̄gọ̀ bẹ dwátọ̀ ṅù; a ywọ́dẹ́ gẹn; a kõbị: yina ṅu! wá fà mẫt? Kó ẫ, yínè mọ̄ḍà! Afoajọ kịne: yẫ ḍâl yị gìchè mẹ̄kọ̀. Ye ko: ẫ gìn ẫṅọ̀? Ṅ̃ọr a yõ̀tè yán fõṭè rịṭ, gẹ́ gīr, a chămá, kẫ yá yàṅọ̀, kẫ gẹ́ chọ̃ṅa. A kȭp ṅu, yí chákà ṭọ̀ṭọ̀, wàlà a kwálè yín? Kò: á kwálè yán. Kō: yẫch! yá fẫ kẹ̄ṭ! Kò: mạ́ṭ, bi kẹ́ḍọ̀, koṅ yán! Kịne: yá ṭẹ̄ṅ, yí dúọ̃ṅ. A kẹ̄ṭ ṅu, a yõ̀dị́ gìn ẹ́ní é pẹ̄k, a kyẹ́ḍẹ́. A kẹḍẹ afoajọ ṭyau.

*539 *A dwai ọ́ṭwọṇ, ko: yin ọ́ṭwọṇ, ṭẹ̀rọ̀ à dwâi yán bẹ̀nẹ̀, dẹ́ gẹ́ bán, dẹ bi, kon yan! yu ṭọ̄ṭe kí ǹọ̀r, mọk ú chámè yín. A kẹṭi ọ́ṭwọṇ, à yẹ̄ji kwọm ọ́ṭwọṇ; a kẹ̄lẹ́ gẹ́n pach, a wáṇọ̀ gọ́l gẹ́n, a lẹ̄n gẹ̀ fén. Kă kwọ̀mé oṭwọṇ e fọ̀gọ̀. Ká afoajọ kọ́mà kine: kwọm oṭwọṇ ú gwọ̄k ẹdí? Ka yiṭ yaṭ ká gẹ ṭọ́k yì gẹ́n, a kiṭi kwọ̀m kẹ́n lẹ̄ṭ.*

Kă ẹ́ tuyi yàṇ duộn. Afoajọ lịṭà yàṭ, ẹ bā̂r kí kwọ̀m ọ́ṭwọṇ; a ǹwọ̄lí; ka ǹwọ̄lẹ ni lịṭị afoajọ; e ko: búh! u bọ̄le kí ǎnọ̀ (kǎnọ̀)? A kwánị tŭk à bọ̄lé gọn ki tun ẹni. Kẹṭ tun ẹnā fáṭẹ́ dí nâm, a lọ́gị mùchọ̀.

Ye kẹdọ bẹ̄ fẹ̄ṭ kí jâm, ká ǹwọ̄lé ochọ̄ye ká gẹ́ fẹ̄ṭ. A bẹ̄nị òwẹ̀lè mẹ̄kọ, a kọ́bị kine: ṭọ̄ṭi yan kí gìn châm! A kyẹ́t afoajọ kine: ńéwà, yă chẹ̀rá bẹ̄nọ̀ ànàn. Afoajọ chàmá lẹ̄ṭi ǹàjẹ̀. A ywọ̄dè ochọ̄ye, é ǹẹ̄nọ̀, a ḍuoṭ afoajọ, ká fàlọ̀ kwàné, u kẹ̄gọ́ gọ̀n; ka fàl kẹdọ yéjé ochọ̄ye; ka afoajọ e ǹàǹọ̀: fàlọ̀ é kẹ̀dọ̀ kẹn ānọ? Ka wijẹ ǹọ̀lī, ká kẹdọ yéje ochọ̄ye, ká ywode djè gẹ́ gír, gẹ́ nẹ̀nọ̀. Ka é fẹdọ̀. A bẹ̄n wọ̀k, a ywóde wijẹ ẹ́ tyẹ̀tọ̀ kị yûk, a chwọ̄lí gọ̀n, kine: yine wich bī! Ka wich é bàn. A chígí gọ̀n chwọ̄lé kịṭé, ká é bàn. Ká gọ̀ gẹ̄ché kí àtûi; a bẹ̄nè wich, a dọ̄gé kẹ̀jẹ̀.

The hare travelled into the town of the king, and he found beans, plenty of beans. And he sat down to eat. When he had finished. he piled them (the rest) up in one place. He filled a bag with them. Then he brought a camel, took the bag and put it on the camel. He beat the camel saying, "Walk on!" But the camel refused. He beat it again saying, "Walk on!" The camel fell down and said, "The bag is too heavy." The camel went away.

The hare too went away; he fetched a horse, lifted the bag and put it on the horse's back. The horse refused to walk; he (the hare) struck it, it tried to go, but it began to fall down saying, "Why!" The hare said, "Why! what shall I do with the bag?" He left the horse. The hare went and fetched a cow; he put the bag on it. But the bag was thrown down by the cow. The hare asked, "Why do you throw down the bag?" The cow replied, "Why do you kill people (by laying such a heavy load on them)? I refuse." He went away. The hare was left; he was perplexed, thinking, "What is to be done with the bag?" He once more turned back to fetch the lion. When he found him, he said to him, "You lion! Are we not friends?" He said, "Yes, you are my friend." Then the hare said, "I am in difficulty with a certain matter." The lion asked, "What is it?" He answered, "I found beans in the town of the king, plenty of beans. I ate some of them, and when I was full, I put the rest into a bag." The lion asked, "Were they given to you, or did you steal them?" He answered, "They were stolen by me." Then the lion said, "Never! I shall not go!" The hare said, "Friend, come, let us go that you may help me!" He said again, "I am small, you are big." So the lion went. He found the bag ("thing") very heavy; he refused and went away. The hare too went.

He fetched a cock; he told him, "You cock! all (kinds of) people were fetched by me, but they have refused. But now come and help me, and I shall give you part of the beans to eat." The cock went, (the hare) put the bag on the cock, and it carried it home. When they came near the house, it threw it down. The cock's back was bruised (from carrying the bag). The hare said, "What is to be done with the back of the cock?" He crushed leaves of a tree and placed them on the sore place of the cock's back. 539*

And there sprang up a large tree (on the sore place of the cock's back, some seeds having got into the wound by putting the leaves on it). The hare saw the tree was very high on the back of the cock. The tree bore fruit; when the fruit was seen by the hare, he said, "Dear me! by what (how) are they to be thrown down?" He took a stone and threw at them. The stone fell into the middle of a river and became an island.

The hare went to plant some vegetables (on the island), and he planted melon seeds. Then there came a traveller, he said, "Give me something to eat (the traveller saw the melons, which in the meantime had ripened)!" But the hare refused saying, "Cousin, I have come in this very moment (so I am not prepared to give you food)." The hare looked back; he saw there were many melons. The hare arose, he took a knife and split a melon. The knife went into the middle of the melon, the hare was perplexed, he said to himself, "Where has the knife gone?" Suddenly it (the knife) cut his (the hare's) head off. He (the hare) went into the melon and found there many people, who were alive. When he was tired, he came out; he found his head carrying firewood. He called it, "You head, come!" But the head refused. He called it again, but it refused. Then he struck it with the flat hand. The head came and returned to its place.[38]

> [The Nubians have the same story; here, as in Shilluk, it forms part of a series of tales; only the part which coincides with the story in Skilluk is given here (translated from Leo Reinisch, Die Nuba-Sprache, Erster Teil, p. 232 ss). . . . The young man heaped up the eggs, squashed them, made a wind, and winnowed them, so that the wind blew away the egg-shells, and only the chickens were left. One of the chickens had a wound on its foot. They sent for the doctor, who said, "Take two ardeb of date-seeds, roast them and bind them on the wound, then it will heal. They did so. Now a date-tree grew out of the chicken's foot, it became large and bore fruit. When the fruit were ripe, a boy came and threw a stone at the tree; four fruit fell down. Thereupon the tree became angry, in its anger it fell down and formed an island. The owner of the island sowed sesamum on it; but afterwards he sowed melon-seeds. While they were still sowing, the melon-seds germinated and grew large. Then a

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Turkish soldier came and asked the owner, "Give me one of the melons." The man replied, "They are not yet ripe." The soldier said, "If you don't give me one, I shall cut off your head." Then the man went, cut a melon and gave it to the soldier. This one took his knife and stabbed it into the melon; but the knife escaped into the belly of the melon. Then he drew his sword and stabbed into the melon, but the sword too escaped into the belly of the melon. The Turk became angry, pursued the owner of the melon, cut his head off and threw it away. The trunk of the man crept into the belly of the melon. But the head searched its trunk in vain. At last it went away into a barber's shop. Here he had his hair shaved. In the meantime the man (the trunk) crept out of the melon and went away. When he came to the barber's shop, he found his head, took it, placed it on his neck and went his way.]

81. The Camel and the Donkey.

*539 *Jal mę̄kǫ e ya da amalǫ, gę́ kį́ adę̄rǫ, gę ńį́ chǫ́k gę́ tyę̄tǫ̀ kị jam. De bogin ńị chámè gę́n, dę gę́ gwǭlǫ̀ gwǭlǫ̀. Ka amalǫ ko: bų́h! Kịne: adę̄rǫ! Ka adę̄rǫ yēi kịne: é! Kịne: wá chà ṭǫ̀! Kịne: àwǫ́, wá chà ṭǫ̀. Amalǫ ko: kę́n ụ fā̀rị wá, yu (yiụ) yēi? Ka adę̄rǫ ko: àwǫ́! yá yēi. Ka e ko: fār wǫ!*

Ka gę kę́dǫ, gę́ chāṭǫ̀; ka gę wịṭa kęch malgulgu; ká mùchǫ̀ lī̦ṭę̀ gę́n, ę́ yà di nam, di lūm gīr; ka gę ko: wa kę́dǫ̀ di? Ka adę̄rǫ ko: kújà! Ka amalǫ ko: wa ụ kwǭ̄ńį! Ka adę̄rǫ ko: wa kụ mût?[59] Kịne: ę́! Kịne: wa fa mut, gik amalǫ. E ko: jwǫk dugń! wa ụ wịṭị wǫk. Ka gę kęṭa nam, ka adę̄rǫ kęṭa bāńę, ka gę kwāńǫ.

Ka gę wịṭị wǫk, ka gę kęṭa wǫk; dę chuńe gę́n mędo; muchǫ bụ ḍā̄ṇ, ká gę́ chàmǫ̀, ka gę ńị butǫ. Ḏụkị ka gę ńị chāmǫ, ka ńị yūḍè wǫ́u, ka gę ńị bútǫ̀; kịnau chęṭ kị chāńǫ. Ka adę̄rǫ chwēyǫ, ka amalǫ chwēyǫ; dę ńę̄te gę́n fa tádę̀r; ka gę ńị māṭa gąt kị pi; ka gę ńị bę̄ṇǫ.

Ka adę̄rǫ kōbǫ kịne: mą́ṭ! Kịne: ę́! e kọ: yi cha de gǭ̀gǫ̀ kị kęch madgęh; e ko: wija mûm; e ko: kęń de bų́ńị yin, e ko: wā̀ de ṭō̦u, gik adę̄ro. Amalǫ ko: yi faṭe dę́k? e ko: kwǫp ńā̀jè yín? e ko: fa kúchị yin? gik amalǫ. Ka gę bę̄dǫ chán àkyę̄lǫ̀; adę̄rǫ ko: mą́ṭ! — kęń chwǫlę́ amalǫ. Amalǫ ko: ě! E ko: ya da ńwǫ́l mǫ́ṭǫ́ŋǫ́[60] kị wija, dę bęṭ ę́dī? Amalǫ ko: bų́h! ńwǫl mǫṭǫŋǫ[60] ga mǭ ńǫ?[61] Ká è kùdǫ̀. Ka gę ngnǫ, kí chį́kā kwǫ́f kịne: mą́ṭ! Kịne: é! E ko: mǫk ęni e ńwę̄nǫ̀ kị wija. Kịne wiji chaka wilǫ! Kúchị̄ yin, kęń mak wa, ka wā̀ ńị pwǫ́t kį́ lǫ̀ṭ? Dę yí chwǫ̀, dę da mó kį́mí. Ka e ko: ará, yá kùt. Ka e kudǫ. Ḏụkị ka e ko: ya ḍálè chám yi gik ęni, wíjā ńwę̄nǫ̀. Amalǫ ko: bụh! Ko: yik chwaki ụ lį́ńè yàu yi tyęń kǭ̄lé nam. E ko: á, wei ywǫ́ńa, gik adę̄rǫ; kị ńwǫl mǫ́ṭǫ́ŋǫ́[2] yau! Ka amalǫ ko: ę́, ywǫ́ńi! ya fęṭ kị yí, ṭō̦ ụ bi kịfa wá bę̄ńę́, faṭe kịfa yá kę̄tà.

Ka adḛrǫ rę̄nǫ, ká è kwoḏǫ, ká é ywǫ̀ṅǫ̀ kḭ ywǫk mágīr, ka ṅḭ kwoḏǫ; ká jè ma chāṯḭ́ kḭ yey yḛi, kḭne: adḛrǫ ywǫnę kḛ́ṅ? Ka gę bia wǫk, kḭne: muchǫ yęję da jè.[62] *Ka gę yā̰bǫ kḭ kḛle lûm, jē bogǫn. Ka adḛrǫ yôt, ka amalǫ yôt, ka gę mak, ka ṅḭ fwǫ̂t kḭ lǫ̂ṯ, ka amalǫ ko: yâ ko kǫ̂p, yâ ko: wa y yôt; dę̀ ànànǫ̀, yi kōbǫ ádì? Adḛrǫ kudǫ. Ka gę kǫ̂l (kęl), ká gę́ mákè kḭ́ wúnè yḛ̀i, yęi fyéchè gḛ́n. Ka amalǫ ka wune chǫ́dḛ̀, ka e rę́ṅǫ; ka ṯḛrǫ rīṅǫ bǣṅę, ka jē yḛ̄mè ę́n. Ka adḛrǫ dǭṅǫ, gę kḭ bwoṅ, ka ṅḭ gḛ̂chè lǫ̂ṯ; yęi fḛ̂k, ka e ṯǫ.*

Dyṅḭ[63] *chínè ká àmàlǫ̀ bia gǫt bę maṯ, ka adḛrǫ yǫ̂dḛ́, é ṯǫ̀ ke yey pi; dę kúòdǫ̀. Ka e ko: ḏwoṯi mâl! gik amalǫ. Ko: ḏwoṯi, ywóṅi! Óṯyḛ̀nǫ̀ yâ kò: yí kḭ́ ywǫ̀ṅì! yí kò: dā gin ṅwǫ̀nǫ̀ wíji; dę ḏwoṯ! Adḛrǫ ṯǭ. Ka amalǫ kḛṯi bę maṯ kḭ pi, ka amalǫ dǭga kḛl ṯim.*

Somebody had a camel and also a donkey; they used to carry goods every day, but they got nothing to eat, so they were very thin. One day the camel said, "Dear me!" Again he said, "Donkey!" The donkey replied, "Eh?" The camel said, "We are going to die!" "So it is," replied the donkey, "we are going to die." The camel said, "Suppose we run away, would you consent?" The donkey replied, "Yes, I would consent." Then he said, "Let us flee!"

And they went travelling. They arrived in a very distant place; there they saw an island in the middle of a river. There was much grass. And they said, "How shall we get there?" The donkey confessed, "I do not know." But the camel said, "We will swim." The donkey asked, "Shall we not be drowned?" "No", said the camel, "we shall not be drowned;" talk of the camel.[64] He said again, "God is great! We shall arrive safely." They went into the river, the donkey went behind the camel. And they swam.

When they came to the bank, they got out of the water. They were very glad; there were no men on the island. They ate and then lay down; the next day they grazed again (the whole day), and when the night came, they lay down. Thus they did every day. The donkey and the camel became fat; their bellies became thick. They used to drink water in the river; and from there returned to grazing.

One day the donkey said to the camel, "Friend!" He replied, "Eh?" The donkey said, "You have indeed succeeded in bringing us into a good position; I am quite surprised; if it had not been for you, we should be dead now!" Such was the talk of the donkey. The camel replied, "Are you not a stupid fellow? Do you know anything? Are you not an ignorant one?" So said the camel. One day later the donkey continued, "Friend!" — So he used to call the camel. The camel replied, "Eh?" The donkey said, "I have some thoughts ("little seeds") in my head; how may it be with them?" "Dear me," replied the camel, "what may be your thoughts!" Then the donkey was silent; and they

*539 went to sleep. But the next morning he began again, "Friend!" The camel said, "Eh?" The donkey said, "These things (thoughts) are still working in my head." "You begin to forget!" warned the camel; "do you not remember, when we were caught (every morning) and were always beaten with a club? But now you have become fat, you want to talk!" The donkey replied: "Well, I will be silent." And he remained silent. On the next morning he continued, "I cannot eat on account of this thing; my head is always wandering." The camel said, "Why, if you talk so loudly, the people who are travelling on the river will hear us." At last the donkey begged, "Let me bray just once; that is what is troubling me." Thus the talk of the donkey. The camel said, "Well, do bray! I am worn out by you. Death will come to all of us, not to me alone." And the donkey ran, snorting and braying exceedingly loud, and he snorted again. Some people who were travelling in a boat, heard him; they said, "Where does that donkey cry?" They went ashore saying, "There must be people on the island." They searched in the grass, but there were no people. At last they found the donkey and the camel. They seized them and beat them with clubs. The camel said, "Did I not tell you, saying: we shall be found? but now, what do you say?" The donkey was silent. They both were driven away and were bound with boat-ropes, in order to pull the boat. The rope of the camel broke, and he ran away. The people pursued him, but he outran them. So the donkey was left with the strangers. He was beaten with clubs; the boat was heavy, he died. Some days later the camel came to the river bank to drink; he found the donkey dead in the water; he was bloated. And he said, "Get up!" talk of the camel. He said again, "Get up and bray! formerly I told you, do not cry! But you said, something is ("working") in my head. Now get up!" But the donkey was dead. So the camel went to drink and then returned into the forest.[63]

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[1] The animals, when acting like men, have in the English translations always been treated as persons.

[1a] In most of the texts the word "*juok*" is rendered by "God", where, however, it is used in rather a disrespectful sense, "*juok*" is kept in the translation.

[2] *leé* is "war", and "the army, host of war".

[3] *tyal*, more frequently *tyęl* "foot".

[4] the future form of the verb, but without the future particle *ģ*.

*[193] [5] Very frequently the present tense is followed by the imperfect of the same verb, the first introducing the action rather as a state, the second showing the action as going on, as being in progress. "They go," when they were going below a tree. . .

[6] "he says" or "said" is: "*e ko kine*"; but in fluent speech *ko* "to say" is often omitted and only "*kine*" "thus" is said.

[7] vocative! see Grammar.

[8] *chámi* was to be expected.

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[9] The "yin" lays stress on the subject: why are you so thin (while the hare is fat)?
[10] *bęh*, an expression used most frequently, cannot be well translated into English; it may mean any degree and shade of surprise, very often, as here, angry surprise.
[11] *Dụki* is not only "to-morrow", but simply "the next day".
[12] Instead of "*chwäch yi ŋu*".
[13] from *yi y̨*.
[14] *kaṇ*, more frequently *kẹṇ*, the stem for "go".
[15] The hare wanted the hyena to believe that he, the hare, was being punished for his misdoings, and that the hyena, by coming near, might get a thrashing as well.
[16] instead of *yi*.
[17] in order that.
[18] more frequently: *wịṭo* to arrive.
[19] "beside" = since.
[20] vocative!
[21] commonly: *kudo*; here the *ȩ* is long, as if to express the lengthened waiting for an answer — but all remained silent. [195]
[22] Is he, being great, not entitled to eat you?
[23] To prevent the monkey from secretly running away.
[24] Alluding to some old affair, for which he intended to take revenge now.
[25] Twice the hare escapes the threatened revenge of the hyena, and even injures him severely anew, taking advantage of the greediness of the latter.
The same story is told in Marno, Reisen im Gebiet des Blauen und Weißen Nil, under „Geschichten aus dem Sudan." [171]
[26] the lion, his spear is still with me.
[27] *fa* and *faṇ* are most frequently used in this way, to emphasise a sentence: is it not so? that is: it surely is so.
[28] vocative! the last vowel with high tone.
[29] "why remains my spear not cooked (forged) by you?"
[30] see Grammar.
[31] "a saddle which is not": a saddle of somebody who is not present, somebody's saddle, I do not know whose.
[32] vocative!
[33] instead of: *malo yi ęn*.
[34] one would expect: *yiepe wun*.
[35] one would expect: *yiepe gen*.
[36] "You are finished with your mark", "Whenever I meet you again, I shall recognise you and take revenge." This story of the lion and the fox is also told in Marno, l. c. The Hottentots have it likewise.
[37] He expected the fox to came too, and so to find an opportunity for finishing him.
[38] *yé-ki* . . . . an expression of assertion, the literal meaning is not clear; "I with my children?"
[39] from *lụdo*!
[40] The fish-spear is a wizard, because "he sees the fish in the water"; he is thrown into the water at hap-hazard, and yet hits the fish.
[41] In dancing the girl selects her companion, not the man.
[42] The story seems to have some mythological relation.
[43] from *dyek*!
[44] "and them (the contents) smeared he".
[45] goats are eaten they (by) whom?
[46] a curse; its literal meaning not clear.
[47] "the hare went, he (to) his place".
[48] "he was in difficulty with a place of his going out."
[49] and the ibis, and (he) was asked.
[50] In many cases like this the meaning of *cham* can hardly by rendered.
[51] abstain from electing her! *y̨* is used here because the act of election lies in the *future*.
[52] the people ask: "whom shall we elect?" (one among them exclaims), "elect the *crow*!"
[53] generally the *lwak*, the "cow house", is the place where strangers pass the night.

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[54] Who that is, or why this designation is chosen, is not clear.

[55] "First let us eat, and then hold our palaver!"

[56] The frog is the friend of the rain.

[57] A number of stories are strung together under this head, most of them reflecting the political and dynastic life of the Shilluks with its intrigues and vicissitudes; some are told not without a certain grotesque humour.

[58] The mention of horse and camel in the beginning perhaps points to a foreign (Arab) origin of the story, or at least of the first part of it; though, of course, both horses and camels are not unknown to the Shilluks, as many of them have lived in contact with Arabs for a long time, in the north as well as in the west.

[59] The use of *kụ* here is rather strange.

[60] more frequently: *maḷ*.

[61] *mọk aṅọ*.

[62] "the island, its interior has people".

[63] form of *dụkị*.

[64] This formula is often added after a verbal quotation.

[65] This story is evidently of Arabic origin.

XII. ADVENTURES BETWEEN MEN AND ANIMALS.

82. The Country of the Dogs.

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Jè a kǫdǫ bę dwar gŭ pyärę, ka wįta kùn à lǫ́u, ka áryàu é wáñ. Ká gę mákà chañ áryàu[1] wįte gęn á mum. Ká gę kęti pach mǫko, ka gę ywoda män kęté gęn.[2] Ka chwǫu e bęnę pęl kį dǫk, gęnà gwǫ̀k, ka gę ñi kęti yętę kęli, ka jal mǫkǫ e pèchǫ̀ kine: chwǫu ǎgǫ̀ gęn? Gę kùdǫ̀. Ka chįkà fēchǫ kine: chwǫu ǎgǫ̀ gęn? Ka gwok mǫkǫ ka chwang é rę̀ñǫ̀, ka pęrá kwǫ̀mę. Ká gǫ̀ nǎgę, ka ñal ákyęl e dǭñǫ. Ká mákà dwat (dwęt) abich é bǫ̀dǫ̀, a pyéch yi gwok: yi kęlá kùn? Ka e ko: yá kęlá fōte Chǫl; yá chàkà wàñǫ̀. Ka wékè dǫk gęn ádęk, ka kęl yi gwok kįte kwǫmę, ká gwǫ̀k é rę̀ñǫ̀, ka wįta bùtè fōte Chǫl, ka gwok e ko: fōte Chǫl á wań, à chínè; y[3] kęlǫ̀ pach, ká yí wàch: yá yęnà fōte gwok, män fá jè, chwǫu fa gwǫ̀k; yí kų kùt, u kìt, yi tǫ̀ (tǫu). Ka ñál ęní è kudǫ, ę fa kǭbǫ; ká ę bǫ̀kǫ̀ kį wąr, ka ę lǫkǫ, gwok e bęnę, kine: ñal, yi re fa wàch? Kęn kų wàch[4] dųki, yi tǫ! Ka ñal dųki mǫl (mwǫl) ka e wǫ̀jǫ̀, kine: ka wàná ǒtyęn, ya yęnà fōte gwǫ̀k kį mǎdà bęná, män fa je, dę chwǫu fa gwok, ka mǎda ñęki yi gwok, kefa jwang kį kwǫ́p.

Some people went hunting; they were ten. And they arrived at a very distant place. Two of them lost their way, they walked for two days, then they became quite perplexed. They came to a certain village, where they found women only. After some time the men too came from the bush with the cattle, and they were dogs (the husbands of the women were dogs). They went into the enclosure (the homestead surrounded by an enclosure). And one of the men asked, "Where are the men (of your villages)?" They remained silent. He asked again, "Where are the men?" One of the dogs became angry[3] ("his heart turned bad"). He jumped on the back of the man and killed him. So only one man ("boy") was left. After five months ("he seized five months") he was asked by the dog, "Where did you come from?" He answered, "I came from the Shilluk country; I had lost my way." Then the dog gave him three cows, he was taken by the dog and put on his (the dog's) back, and the dog ran away with him. When they got near the Shilluk country, the dog said, "The Shilluk country is coming near; it is over there. Now when you reach home, tell (your people), 'I was in the country of the dogs, there the women are (real) people, but the men (males) are dogs.'[4] Do not be silent! If you remain silent, you will die!" But the man ("boy") was silent, he did not tell (his story). And during the night he became afraid, he dreamed, the dog came and said, "Boy, why do you not

Remarks referring to XII. vide on page 222.

*539 speak? If you do not speak to-morrow, you will die." And the next morning he spoke saying, "I was lost some time ago, and I lived with my friend in the country of the dogs; there the women are (real) people, but the men are dogs, and my friend was killed on account of his being hasty in speaking (on account of his indiscreet questioning, "Where are the men?" whereby he made the dog angry)."

83. Akwoch.

Jal mękǫ̀ wątę fa abídę̀k. Ka ṅal àkyę̀l dǭch. Ká fę̀rę̀ lįṅè yį̀ ṅù, ká ṅù màgǫ̀ kį́ bę̄ṅ, ká ṅù māgǫ kį́ lwaṅ, ká gę̀ kįtę yéj ádàlǫ̀, ka bęi kįtę yej ádàlǫ́. Ka e bę̄ṅǫ̀, ká é kò: yá ṅèàwǫ̀! Kįne: yí ṅèàwǫ̀ ṅǫ̀? Kįne: ę́, ṅį́ṅę́ fà ṅį́ kwǫ́p. Ka ṅį́ wèi kę̄dę́; ka bię yi jàl ęní, kįne: yá ṅèàwǫ̀! Kįne: yí ṅeàwǫ̀ ṅǫ̀? Kįne: ṅį́ṅę́ fà ṅį́ kwǫ́p. Ká è kò: lę̄dę̀ ę́n! Ka wę̄kę, ka dǫk ádàlǫ̀ yįę̄bę́, ka bęi rínà wǫ́k, kįne: wǭ̄ǫ́; ka dǫk ádàl akyęlǫ[*] ká gǫ̀ yįę̄bę́, ká lwáṅ̀ ríná wǫ́k, kįne: wǭ̄ǫ́. Ká è kò: bų́h! bę̄r gá lwáṅ̀, gę́ kį́ bę̄ṅ, e ko: yá fà kámá ṅeau; — jal ęni fa rįt —. Ká ṅù kò: bų́h, fā dwǫk kęy gęn? Ka jal ęni ko: gę ywǫ́dà gę́n kį́ kę̄ṅ? Ká ṅù kò: fa chǭl? E ko: chǭl kį ǫ́ṅǫ̀? Ṅu ko: fa chǭl kį dāp? Ka wąt báṅ dwâi, ka chǭl, ka ṅŭ[1] bàṅǫ̀, ka ṅa baṅ dwai, ka chǭl, ka ṅŭ[2] bàṅǫ̀. Ká jam bę̄n dwai, ká gę́ báṅę́, ka wąt jal ęni chǭl, ká ṅŭ bàṅǫ̀. Ka rįt e ko: yí dwátá ṅǫ̀? ká ę̀ kò: yá dwátá Ákwǫ́ch, — wąt jal ęni; ka jál ę́ṅį é ywǫ̀ṅǫ̀. Ká ṅù chuṅę mę̄dǫ kį́fà ṅál ę́ní, ká gǫ̀ wę̄kį̀, ká gę́ kędǫ kį́ gǫ̀n. Ṅu wǭdę bógǫ̀n, ka Akwǫch yįgi wǭdę, ka ṅu chuṅę mę̄dǫ.

Ka ṅu ṅį́ kętą pǭl, ka lgi ṅį́ mákè ę́n, ka gǫ ṅį́ kǭlę́ pach. Ka mę̄ ṅal ę́ní ka ṅį tâl, ká gǫ̀ ṅį wę̄kè, ka ṅal ęni ṅį́ chàm. Ka ṅal ęni yįga machwé, ṅu, chúṅę̀ mę̄dǫ̀. Ka gę ṅį́ wę̄lǫ̀ kį ṅal ęni, ṅį kędǫ fa (= pach) wątè ṅu. Ká ṅàjè yį̀ ṅù bę̄ne bę̄ne bę̄ne, dę chuṅe gę́n mę̄dǫ̀.

Ka chāṅ àn chwǫ̀là dǭró; ye ko: màyǫ́! Kįne: ę́! Kįne wę̄ki yá dǭrǫ́! Kįne: ę́ gwǭge ṅǫ? Kįne: y ṅǫda lǭt. Ka wę̄kè, ka yąt madugṅ ṅǫ́tè ę́n. Ka ṅǫ́tè ę́n, ka e bę̄ṅǫ̀; ka dāp ęni ko: yi kętą kęṅ? Kįne: ya kętę bę̄ ṅǫ́t. Ṅu ko: lǭtę́ rûm? Kįne: ṅūtí. Ka dųkį è dǭgǫ̀ bę̄ ṅǫ́t kį bǖl. Ká gǫ tyę̀ṅ, ka e rûm, ká kǭle ę́n, dę́ ṅù chuṅę mę̄dǫ. Ká è ko: mâ, kòmí pyę́n! Ka pyęn kǭl, ká gǫ̀ kwǭjí bǖl, ka bǖl é rûm, ka Akwǫch e kǭbǫ kįne: mâ! Kįne: kęt chwǫl tyę́ṅ wún! Ṅu kędǫ, ka kǫpę tyę́ṅ gę́n, ka e ko: bǖl a kwách yį wǭdà, dę bi tę̄rǫ dųkį! Ká è dǭgǫ̀, ka bǖl kįtį yi chaṅ; bur máduǫ́ṅ̀ á kwǫ́ṅ yį ṅal ęni, ka yąt kįtį yéję́. Ka mach (may) kįtį yey yąt, ka gǫ lę̄ṅé yey bur, ka yęṅ é rǫ̀pǫ̀ kį yey bur. Ká bùr rík yį ṅál ę́ní. Dę mach lyęlǫ kį pèṅ. Ká bùl gǭch, ká ṅù e bę̄ṅg bę̄ne bę̄ne, ka ṅį́ (yâ) kįne: ṅǫ́l, yi fa dǫ́ṅ̀? Kįne: kį́fáṅǫ́ a dǭṅá? yá fá ṅǫ̀l kį́ wāṅá. Kįne: chwǭr, yi fa dǫṅ? Kįne: yá chwǭrǫ̀ kį́ yìtâ? Kįne: dę míṅ, yi fa dǫṅ? à dé mę̀ṅ yàn, ya męṅ kį ṅį́ṅá? Tę̄rǫ bę̄ṅg bę̄ne, bų ṅan a dǫ́ṅ kį pach.

Ka tę̄rǫ bię bę̄ bǖl, ka ṅal ęni yętą wiy yąt, yąt madugṅ. Ka bǖl fwǫ́tè ę́n, ká

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tęrǫ̀ bię bę chǫ́ṅ, ka ṅu e chǭṅǫ. Ká ṅį́ dę̄mǫ́ yèy bùr, ka gę ṭum kį fąṭe yey bur. Ka ḍān gni dǭṅǫ. Ká kę̄lè chán dę̄mǫ́ yèy bùr. Ka ṅǭt è dǭṅǭ. Ka ṅal gni bia wǫk kį wiy yaṭ, ka ṅǭt ṅį chǫr yey bur. Ka ṅu ṭǭ bę̄ne. Ka e kędǫ, bāṅ ṅù mákè yí ṅal gni kį ḍǫ (ḍǫk) ṅu; ká ḍęp a bų tūṅ ká ṅį ṅę̄k, ká ḍęp a tūṅę nut, ṅį kę̄lè ę́n. Ka wǫt baṅ męn a yiebę nut, ka ṅį ṅę́kè ę́n, ka wǫt baṅ yiebę boggn, ṅį wēi ę́n. Ká gę́ ṭūm, ka gǫ dǭṅǫ́ ṅù ákyę̀l. Ka e ręṅǫ, rę́ṅǫ́ wák. Ka gę kędǫ kį jámę́ ke ḍǫgę, ka kęṭi fǭṭe gę́n, ká è gērǫ̀ kį́ fàrę̀ kį wāi.

Węn e ko: ę ā jàl kę̄ṅ? a ḍǫkę gír kį́ bāṅį gír! Kuche wiyę, dę̄ ę́n, wiyę ṅādję.* Ká gę́ bę̄dǭ, ka peṅ ę yigį kęch, ka węn byęl boggn kį yę, ka ṅal gni byęl nūté yę, ka ṅémę̀n ṅį bę̄n, ká è kò: ṅį fǭṭe ow ak, ka gę ṅį fǭṭe kį byęl. Ka kęṭe yi węn, e ko: wǫ́ fǭṭe byę́l. Węn e ko: yi mę́n? Kįne: yi jal e kune chį́nè. Ka ḍykį wǫné kędǫ, kędǫ yi ṅal gni, ka gę fǭṭe byę́l, ka ṅal gni ko: wiye wún nút? Kįne ę́, nút; kįne ka kǭf ùn kįne: jal e wę̄lǭ yí chwǫ̀lę́, ka wǫne bę̄nǫ, ka wiye gęn kǭfè gę́n, ka wiye gę́n ye bę̄nǫ, ka bia yi wā́ṅę chánǭ. Ka ṅál gni ko: yí rè bę̄dǭ wāṅí chāṅǫ? Kįne: wāṅa chán yįka kǭl wǭdā yį̀ ṅù. Kįne: de wǭdi kęṅ ywǭdí, ų́ ṅādjè yín? Kįne: ṅę́! Kįne: wǭdi ṅįṅe mę́n? Ka jal gni ko: ṅįṅę Akwǫch. Ká è ko: Akwǫṅ ṅādjè yin? ṅal gni ko: fąṭe yan Akwǫch? Ka mákè yi wiyę, ka wiyę ywǫṅǫ, ká è kǫ̀nǫ̀ kį́ ṅùwǭṭ, ka wiję lyęl, ka fǭṭe kį lāṅǫ kwach. Ka fǭṭe ḍǭk, ka wiyę dǭga fārę. E ko: bię kędę kach ákyę̀l. E ko: ę́, ya ų bę̄dǫ kęṅ. Ká gę́ bę̄dǭ, ṅal gni ya fārę, ká gę́ ṅį wę̄lǫ kį reyi gęn.*

A certain man had three sons. One child was pretty, and his fame reached the lion. So the lion caught flies, and he caught mosquitoes too, he put them into a gourd and came saying, "I am selling!" The people asked, "What do you sell?" He answered, "Its name is not to be told." So they let him go. He came to this man (the man the story treats of) and said, "I am selling." He asked, "What do you sell?" The lion replied, "Its name is not to be told." And he said, "Look at it!" He gave him the gourd, and he opened it; the mosquitoes flew out with a loud buzzing; he opened the other gourd too, and the flies flew out with a loud buzzing. The man said, "Why, they are but flies and mosquitoes! I do not want to buy them." — This man was a king. The lion said, "Why, will you not (put them back in) their place?" The man replied, "Where should I find them?" The lion said, "Then will you not make compensation?" The man asked, "What shall I give for compensation?" The lion answered, "A man." So a slave was brought (and was offered) as compensation. But the lion refused him. Then a slave woman was brought and offered as compensation, but the lion refused her too. He brought all his goods, but they all were refused. (At last) a son of the man was brought, but the lion refused him. The man said, "What then do you want?" He replied, "I want Akwoch;" — he was the son of this man (Akwoch is the name of the pretty

*589 boy whose fame had reached the lion). And this man wept. But the lion was glad because of this boy. He gave him the boy, and he went away with him. The lion had no child, and Akwoch became his child. The lion was very glad.

The lion used to go into the bush, to hunt game; and he used to bring it home. The portion of the boy he used to cook, and then give it to him. The boy used to eat it, and he became fat; the lion was much pleased. And they (the other people i. e. the other lions) used to walk with the boy and used to go into the village of the son of the lion (i. e. the village where the lion and his "son" lived). So all the lions knew him, and they all were much pleased.

One day the boy asked for an ax; he said, "Mother!"[10] She said, "Eh?" The boy said, "Give me an ax!" She asked, "What for?" He said, "I will cut a club." She gave it to him; and he cut a large tree. When he had cut it, he came. (The next day) this woman asked him, "Where are you going?" He replied, "I am going to cut." The lion asked, "Is the club finished?" He answered, "Not yet." The next day he went again to cut a drum. He carved it; and when it was finished, he brought it; but the lion was much pleased. And he (the boy) said, "Mother, bring me a skin (to fasten on the drum)." And a skin was brought, and he stretched it on the drum. When the drum was finished, he said, "Mother!" he said again: "Go and call your people" (i. e. the people of all the villages around, belonging to the lion's family). The lion went, and he told all his people, "A drum has been made by my son, now all people shall come to-morrow." Then he returned.

The drum was placed in the sun (to dry). Then a big hole was dug by the boy, and he put a tree into it; he put a fire into the (hollow) tree and threw the tree into the hole. The tree caught fire in the hole. The hole was covered by the boy, but the fire was burning in the ground. Then the drum was beaten, and all the lions came; and the people said, "Cripple, will you not stay at home?" The cripple replied, "Why should I stay at home? My eyes are not crippled!" Then they said to the blind one, "Will you not stay at home?" He replied, "Are my ears blind?" They asked the deaf one, "Will you not stay at home?" He replied, "Though I am deaf, My eyes are not deaf."[11] So all people came, there was no one left at home. The people came for the drum. Then this boy climbed upon a tree, a big tree, and he beat the drum. The people (= the lions) came to dance, and the lions danced. And (while dancing and not heeding the hole) they fell into the hole; they all fell into the hole. And this man (viz. the lion who was the boy's father, or his wife) was left; and he too was fetched and fell into the hole. Then the cripples[12] were left, and the boy came down from the tree and pushed them into the hole. So all the lions died (were burned in the hole).

Then the boy caught the slaves of the lion and his cattle. The cattle without horns he killed, and the cattle which had horns, he took with him. And the slaves which had tails, he killed, but the slaves, which had no tails, he let go.[12] When he had finished them all, there was one lion left; that one ran into the bush. Then he went away with all his goods and his cattle, and he went into his native village, there he built his home in a place by itself.

The father (= his father, who at the same time is the father of the children whom he addresses) said, "To whom does this man belong? he has so many cattle, and so many slaves!" His father did not know him, but he (the stranger) knew his father. They remained some time, then it came to pass that a famine came, and the father had no more dura with him, but this boy (the stranger) still had dura. And his brothers (who did not know him) used to come to him, and he used to say (to his servants), "Give these boys dura." And dura was given to them. Then they returned to their father, saying, "We were given dura." He asked, "By whom?" They said, "By the man who is over there." On some other day these boys went again to this man, and they received dura. And the man asked, "Is your father still alive?" They said, "Yes, he is alive." Then he said, "Tell him, 'the stranger ("traveller") calls you'." The boys came. and told their father; and their father came, he came with a sorrowful face. The man (stranger) asked him, "Why is your face so sorrowful?" He said, "My eye is so sorrowful because my son has been carried away by a lion." The man replied, "If you met your son now, would you know him?" He said, "Yes." The man asked, "What is the name of your son?" He answered, "His name is Akwoch." Then he asked, "Would you know Akwoch now?" He said, "Yes, I would know him." The man replied, "No, you would not know him." Then he said again, "Am I not Akwoch?" And his father seized (embraced) him, and his father wept. And he brought a razor and shaved his head, and he gave him a leopard skin;[14] and he gave him cows. Then his father returned to his village. And he said, "Come, let us go (= live) in one place." But he replied, "No, I will stay here. And they remained, the boy in his village, and the father in his village, and they used to visit each other.[15]

84. The Girl and the Dog.

Ñane ḓāchǫ̀ fá bwǫch, ka kẹṯa fḛl, e ywǫ́ddá gwok; kà é kò kịne: yina jwǫk! e ko: ḓǫ̈ṯi yán ke ñāra! y nwǫmį gwok. Ka ḓǫ̈ṯe ñārẹ yį jwǫk, ka ñārẹ é ḓǫ̈ñǫ̀. Ka ñārẹ̀ kẹ̈ṯá fḛl, ka gwok ywodẹ́, gwok bẹ̈dá ñàbǫ́ñ. Ká gwǫ́k è ko: kẹ̈ṯí yį māyí, gwok e ko, ye ḓāŋ y wḛ̀kè yán ko-wẹ́n? Ka ñān ḓẹŋ e bẹ̈ñǫ̀, ko: māyǫ́! Ka mẹn yēyǫ. Ko: yá ywǫ́ta gwok fḛl, dẹ gwǫ́k è ko ne: kẹ̈ṯi māyi, kòpí kịne: gwok e ko:

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ḓāṇ u wę̂kè yán ko-wę́n? Ká mâyę ywǫ̀ń, ka kōpa wíyè; ka wiye e ko: kęl muy (muj) gwok! Ka ńān ţęṇ kęl muy gwok.

Ka gwok e yôt, ę́ búdǫ̀. Ka ńān ţęṇ wêke. Ka gę ḓúodǫ, ka gwok é kę́dǫ̀ ki ńān ţęṇ, ka gę kędǫ ki gwok, ka gę kęţa fén; gwok bę̂dá jwǫk, ka kęţa wǫt gwok, yaţ gīr bę̂nę̀, ka gwok e ko: ńį́ châm kį́ re yan, ka yi ńį kęţe gǫl! Ka gǫl ye ko: kęţi yeję! E ko: bâń àgàk. Ka gwóń ę́ní é kę̀dǫ̀, ka ńān ęni e dǭńǫ. Ka ńān ęni kęţa gǫl gwok, gǫl dugń, wǫn ęni wǫt jwǫk.

Ka ńān ęni ręńa mal, ka e pǭrǫ, ka peń e pyę̂dǫ̀. Ka ńàn ę́ní bia wǫk, kęţi é rîńǫ̀. Ka gwok e liţǫ, gwok e bę̄nǫ é rîńǫ̀; ńān ęni ręńa wǫt ki nam, wǫt ma yęńa nàm, wǫt madugń. Ka gwok e bę̄nǫ, ka é bę̂dǫ̀ ki tyęle wǫt. Ka tyęń wǫn ęni gęn abíryǫ̀u, ga yęgǫ chwǫu, ḓācho bogǫn ki kęle gęn. Gęn ńį chama lai, ńį kęţi bę dwar.

D̲ān ęni á fǫ́nę wǫt, ka jǫk ęni (ǫni) e bę̄nǫ, kâ gę́ kò: amęn a ţāl gin cham? Ka gę ńâńǫ̀, ka gę kęţa bę yáf ki wǫt, ka ńàn ę́ní ywôt, chuńe gę́n mę̀dǫ̀, e ko: yi yig namēi wǫn. Ka gę bę̄dǫ, ka ńān ęni ko: yá chę̂tè yi gwok. Ka gę̂ kò: ǹgǫ̀n ę̂n? Kįne: ya péń ţa wǫt, ka gę lîţá péń, ka gwok lîţè gę́n, ka gwok gǫ́ch ki toch. Ka gwok e ţǭu, ka wǫte fǭl.

Ka maka wun ga ábí ryàu, ka ńān ęni ko: yá dwátá kędǫ bę līţe chû gwok. D̲ań ęni ko: bę̂t, yí kų́ kęţ; ńān ęni ko: yâ kędǫ! Ka gę kędǫ, ka ńân ę́ní é yǭbǫ, kí nę́kè chǫ̂gó ki tyęle, ka ńān ęni ţǭ. Ka ńań é ywǫ̀ń, ka ńān ęni kwáń yì gę́n kiţe nam; ńān ęni kę̂l yi nam. Ka wíţé fôţè gę́n, ka ywote jǭ (= jǭg) chyęk. Ka ńān ęni kǭl wǫk, ka riţ kópè, ka riţ é kànǫ̀ ḓáchǫ̂ madugń, ka ńān ęni lwǫk ki pi, ka chǭgǫ yôt yi ḓāṇ ę́ní, ka kǭl wǫ̀k, ka ńān ęni ḓwoţa mal, é chàrǫ̀; ka riţ kópē: ḓāṇ a chę́r! Ka riţ e bę̄nǫ, ka pyech yi riţ, e ko: yi kǭlá kę́ń? Kįne ya kǭla wǫt ma yę́ńà nàm. Ka é ko: yi dwâi yi ǹńǫ̀? E ko: yá wę́kè gwǫ̀k yi wiya, dę gwok é châţį́ yán, ya kę́ţá wǫ̂t ki nam. Ka rāṇ ęni ká é ywǫ̀ń: ńārę̂! Ka męn e bę̄nǫ, ká é ywǫ̀ń, ka ḓǫk kǭl, ḓǫk gę̂ḓè; ka kęţe wǫt. Chǫ̂ţè, á ţùm.

A woman was without child. She went into the bush and found a dog. She said, "O *jwǫk!* give me a ("my") child! (If you give me one) it shall marry the dog." And a child was given to her by *jwǫk*, and the her child grew up. And the child went into the bush; it found the dog; — this dog was a white one. The dog said, "Go to your mother and tell her, the dog says, 'When will the woman be given to me?'" The little girl came saying, "Mother!" The mother answered. The girl said, "I found the dog in the bush, and he said thus, 'Go to your mother and say to her thus, the dog says: when will the woman be given to me?'" Her mother wept; she told the (girl's) father; the father said, "Bring her to the dog." They found the dog lying. The girl was given to him.

And they (the dog and the girl) rose up, the dog went with the girl, they

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went into the ground; — the dog was jwọk; they went into the house of the dog; there were many trees there everywhere. And the dog said, "You shall always eat with me; and you shall go into this enclosure.“ The people of the enclosure said to the girl, "Go to the center.“ The dog said to the girl, "These are slaves.“ Then the dog went away, the girl was left. So the girl had gone into the enclosure of the dog, a big enclosure; this house was the house of jwọk.

One day the girl ran up, she jumped up, and the ground split. The girl came out; she went away running. The dog saw her, he came running; the girl ran into a house in the river, this house was (in?) the river; it was a big house. And the dog came; he remained at the foot of the house (below the threshold). The people of this house were seven; they were males, there was no woman among them. They lived on meat, they used to go hunting.

The girl hid herself in the house; and the people came (home and found their food cooked), they said, "Who has cooked the food?“ They were astonished. They went searching the house; the girl was found, they were very glad. They said, "You have become our sister.“ So they remained. The girl told them, "I am chased by a dog.“ They said, "Where is he?“ She said, "He is in the ground below the house.“ They looked into the ground and found the dog. They shot him with a gun. The dog died, and they threw him into the bush.

And seven years passed, then the girl said: "I want to go and see the bones of the dog.“ The boys (i. e. the men in whose house she lived) said, "Stay, do not go!“ The girl said, "I will go!“ And they (all) went; the girl searched, and she was hurt at her foot by a bone; the girl died. The boys wept. Then the girl was taken by them and put into the river; she was carried away by the river and came to her native country. There fishermen found her; they pulled her out of the water and told the king (what had happened). The king brought an old woman, she washed the girl with water; and the bone was found (in the body of the dead girl) by the woman. She pulled it (the bone) out, and then the girl rose up, she sneezed (became alive again). The king was told, "The girl has sneezed.“ The king came, he asked the girl, "Where do you come from?“ The girl said, "I come from the house which is in the river.“ The king asked, "What brought you there?“ She answered, "I was given away to a dog by my father; but the dog chased me, so I went into the house in the river.“ And the king wept, She was his daughter! Her mother too came, and she wept. Then cows were brought, they were sacrificed. They went home. — That is all, it is finished.

85. Anyimo and the Lion.

*539 *Ńan ńińę Ańimǫ e d̯ǫ̂ch, kį ómę̀n Akwǫt, kį wìyę̀; maye gęn bogǫn. D̯ǫ (d̯ǫk) gę́n gı̂r, dyęge gęn gı̂r. Ká ńù e lińǫ, ká ńù e yigi d̯ā̤ŋ, ka ńu bę̂nǫ̀, ka bia yį ńal ęni, ka ryę̂ch, ka kit̯į wǫt. Ka Ańimǫ kőfį ómę̀n kįne: t̯ǫ̂t̯í kį fik luǭgǫ chíńę́! Ka ńan ęni lı̂t̯e yį ńu, ká ńù chúńį mę̀d̯ǫ̀. Ka ńu ńachǫ kįne: yằ kęd̯ǫ! Ka t̯ǫ̂t̯è kį byę̂l. ka ńal ęni ko: Ańimǫ, lwǫk mâd̯à! Kįne: ų wit̯į kā chínê, ka yi dúǫ̀k! Ka gę kęd̯ǫ. Ka omia Ańimǫ e d̯ǭńǫ bę̄ twar kį węr. Ka ńal ęni (ńu) kęd̯ǫ, gę chāt̯į kį Ańimǫ. Ka ńal ęni ko: Ańimǫ, a kęń āńǫ ęn? Kįne: kęń ńį kwai kį rǭch. Ka gę kęt̯į, gę chāt̯ǫ. Ka t̯im madugń yôt, ka ńu ko: a kęń āńǫ ęn? Kįne: kęń ńį kwai kį d̯ǫk. Ka gę kęd̯ǫ gę chāt̯ǫ, kęd̯ǫ kęń malgulgu, kįne: a kęń āńǫ ęn? Ańimǫ ko: kęń ęni kúchè yán. Kįne: bųh! ęna fańǫ a fyęń yan?*

Ka gę wit̯į (wot̯į) būte tugǫ, tugǫ mábǭr; ka ńu ręńǫ, e ręńa kęle lûm, ka Ańimǫ ko ne: tuńǫ[16] *kwai d̯ā̤ŋ, bùtí kį féń, ya yęt̯a wiji! Ka tugǫ bùtǫ̀, ka kęt̯a wiy tugǫ. Ka e ko: tuń kwai d̯ā̤ŋ, kįne: d̯wǫ̀t̯į mâl. Ka tugǫ d̯wot̯a mal. Ka ńu bę̄ńǫ, e rińǫ, ka Ańimǫ yǒtè yį ę́n, e tǫ̂k. Ka ńu ńâńǫ̀, ka e ko: Ańimǫ e kęt̯a kęń? Ka yǭmǫ ńwáchè ę́n; ka lı̂d̯á mâl, ká gǫ̀ lı̂d̯į mal; e ko: póe! yi fa t̯ǫu tı̂n? e ko: yí nǭ̂gà nǭ̂gǫ̀! ńan ęni ko: dę ęrę (dę̂rę̀)? Ká ńu gǭ̂dǫ̀ kį fę́ń; ka tugǫ ka ńį bę̂ńį a kama fǭ̂d̯ǫ̀. Ka Ańimǫ ko kįne: tuń kwai d̯ā̤ŋ, yí ku fǭ̂t! Dǭk kęji! Ka tugǫ ńį dǭgi kęję, ka ńu ńį gǭ̂dǫ̀ kę̀t̯ę.*

Ka d̯ǫk lı̂t̯è yi ńan ęni, ka e ko: ńíwǫ̀ kį ńimia, yana Ańimǫ, a chấmì yį ńù ę̀n. Ka yań ęni é lı̂ńǫ̀, a kęt̯a pach. Ká gę́ kǫ̀: ńan mę̄kǫ é chwǫ̀t̯ǫ̀, kįne: yana chámì ńù ę̀n. Ka gę ko: à, wú chágà tődǫ̀. Ka ńań d̯ǭńǫ wų̂r, ka gę bę̄ńǫ, gę kwai kį d̯ǫ̀k, ka gę lēt̯e yi ńā̤n ęni; kįne: ńewǫ̀ kí ńímiá, yana châm yį ńù ę̀n! Ka gę bia pach, ka Akwǫt kôfe kįne: ńā̤n mę̄kǫ e kōbį kįne: yana Ańimǫ, á châm yį ńu ęn, dę pęr kį Ańimǫ. Ka leń tįń, ka tę̄rǫ bę̄ńǫ. Ańimǫ kama t̯ǭ̀ yi rőd̯ǫ́. Ka léń lı̂t̯è ę́n, ká è ko: ńíwǫ̀ kį ńimia, yana châm yi ńu ęn! Ka tę̄rǫ bę̄ńǫ gę́ rı̀ńǫ̀; ka yôt ńù ę́ yà féń, ę́ gǭ̂dǫ̀; leń fa nę̂nè ę́n, ka kę̂l, ka ńu rińǫ wǫk; ka ńį kę̂l, ka ńu ęni fǭ̂d̯ǫ̀, ká è t̯ǭ̀. Ka ńā̤n ęni ko: tuń kwai d̯ā̤ŋ, buti, ya bia wǫ̂k! Ka é bútǫ̀, ka bia wǫk. Ka wiyę é kàńǫ́ d̯ǫ̀k, d̯ǫ̀k áńwę̀n, mǫk chwǫ̂p kį t̯a tugǫ; ká chàk kǭ̂l kį gin cham kį pi, ka d̯ǫk chwǫ̂p kį t̯a tugǫ. Ka Ańimǫ t̯ot̯e yi pi, ka e è mǭ̀d̯ǫ̀; ka t̯ǭt̯e yi mǫgǫ, ká è chàmǫ. Węn chuńę mędǫ kį ómę̀n. Ka kǭ̂l pach; ka ńwǫm ka d̯ǫk kôl pyar-áńwę̀n, wiyę chuńę mędǫ.

There was a girl, her name was *Ańimǫ;* she was pretty; she lived with her brother *Akwǫt,* and her father; her mother was no longer alive. They had many cows and many sheep. The lion heard of her, and the lion turned himself into a man; he came to this boy *(Akwǫt).* He was received as their guest. When he came into the house, *Ańimǫ* was asked by her brother, "Give me water to wash his hands." So the lion saw the girl; she pleased him very much. After

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some time he took leave, saying, "I am going." They gave him dura, and the boy told his sister, "Accompany my friend a little way, when you have come to that place there, then return." So they went. The brother of *Añimọ* remained at home, he was sweeping the cow-dung. The boy (viz. the *lion*) went away with *Añimọ*. While they were walking, the lion asked, "*Añimọ*, what place is this?" She answered, "It is a place for herding the calves of the people of *Akwọt*." They went on and came into a great forest. Again the lion asked, "What place is this?" She answered, "A place for herding cattle." They went on walking and came to a very distant place. The lion asked, "What place is this?" She said, "I do not know this place; dear me, why are you always asking me?" They came to a deleib-palm, a very tall one. The lion ran away, he ran into the grass. Then *Añimọ* said, "Thou palm of the grandfather of men, lie down, that I may climb upon thu." The palm lay down, she climbed on it, and then said, "Palm of the grandfather of men, rise up!" The deleib-palm rose up. When the lion came running, he found that *Añimọ* was no more there. He was perplexed and said, "Were has *Añimọ* gone?" But her smell came into his nose, he looked up and saw her up in the tree. He said, "Póe! you will surely die in a moment!" Again he said, "I will kill you at once!" The girl asked, "Well, how?" The lion scratched the ground (round the deleib-palm), and the palm was beginning to fall down. Then the girl cried, "Palm of the grandfather of men, do not fall! return to thy place!" And the palm returned to its place. The lion began scratching again.

And the girl saw cows, and she cried, "My brother and my father, I am *Añimọ*, the lion is going to eat me!" The men heard it, they went home saying. "There is a girl crying, 'A lion is going to eat me.'" But the people said, "Nonsense, you are telling stories." Then the old men were sent for, they came herding their cattle (they drove their cattle near the place where the cry sounded); they were seen by the girl, and she cried again, "My father and my brother, I am going to be eaten by the lion!" They went home and told *Akwọt*, "There is a girl crying, 'I am *Añimọ*, the lion is going to eat me.' Her voice was like that of *Añimọ*." So an armed body was gathered, and they went. *Añimọ* was almost dying with thirst. When she saw the people, she cried, "My father and my brother, the lion is going to eat me!" The people came running; they found the lion scratching the ground; he did not see the people; he was stabbed; he ran away, but he was stabbed again, fell down and died. The girl said, "Palm of the grandfather of men, lie down, that I may get out." The tree lay down, and she came out. And her father brought four cows, they all were to be speared under the deleib-palm (as a sacrifice). And milk, food and water were brought, and the cows were speared under the deleib-

*539 palm. They gave *Añimọ* water to drink, they gave her milk too to drink; then they gave her food to eat. Her father and brother were very glad. She was brought home. She was married for forty cows,[11] so her father was much pleased.

86. An Adventure in the Forest.

E jal ẹn ye kẹṭị yey ṭim, bẹ̄ gwẹn kị lâṅ, ka aṭẹ̄p aryau ká gị pâṅẹ̀, ka lwọl ka gọ pâṅ. Ka lyẹch e bẹ̄nọ, ka ḍwoṭị yey ṭẹ̄p, ká gọ̀ kọ̀ṅị́ chwākẹ, ka ḍwoṭị riẹ ṭẹ̄m akyẹ̄lọ, ka gọ kọṅị chwākẹ; ka ṅwọle ṅịṅ aryau ka gẹ dọ̄ṅọ kị ṭa lwọl, ka lwọl dwọgọ féṅ, ka ṅwọl ṅịṅ ẹni é ywọ̀ṅọ̀ kị yey lwọl, kịne: kọ́r, kọ́r, kọ́r, kọ́r. Ka jal é líṭọ̀, ka lyẹch lẹ̄ṭẹ̀ ẹ́n, ka e búọ̀gọ̀, ka e rẹṅọ, ka ṅị pāra kwọm yaṭ, ka ṅị fyẹt yi kwōṭị; kúchè ẹ́n, á bwọ̀k kị mẹn duọṅ, ka ṅị kẹ́lè kẹle kwōṭ, ka lāṅẹ ṅị́ fyệt yi kwōṭ.

Ka wạṇa pach maduọṅ, ka ḍachọ máduộṅ, máyû, ká gọ̀ yōdẹ́ (ywōdẹ́); ka e ko: wâṅọ́, ṭōṭị ya fi! Kịne: yi bia kẹṅ? Kịne: ệ, yá kụ́ fyẹch, ṭōṭị yan kị fi mọ̄ṭé! Ka ṭōṭẹ fi mọ̄ṭé. Ka lịḍị́ yi gwok, gwok mâṅōdọ́; ka e ko: mā! Kịne: wat bẹ̄n á ṅwộl? Ka gwok lịḍị́ yiẹ, ka gwok é ṅârọ̀; ka e ko: bụh! Kịne: fârá? Kịne: ụ gọ̄ché yán, yịk yin fa káchè yán! Ka ḍāṇ duọṅ e ko: bụ́h! wâdà, yi bia kẹṅ? Kịne: kút, mâ, yâ chyẹṭi[18] *lyệch, lyẹch maduọṅ; fúkẹ́ pẹr kị māné àgàk. Ka ḍachọ ko: bóí! yi bia kẹṅ a bẹ̄dí yi pẹr kị wuo! Ka e ko: wuọ ṅâjè yán; faṭ kị ẹna, atẽṅẹ da yẹṭ? Ka e ko: ệ, kẹ́ṭ!*

Ka e kẹ́ḍọ̀. Ka gẹ rúọ̀mọ̀ pạr; ka pạr e rẹ́ṅọ̀, ka e rẹ́ṅọ̀, ka fẹṭị yi kuojọ, chwọle ẹn ẹna nam; ka é kwâṅọ̀ kị yey kúọ̀jọ̀. Ka ṭẹ̄rọ bẹ̄nọ, ka mâk; ka kậl pàch, ka fyẹwẹ e fûḍọ̀ kị yey wậrọ̀, ká è ṭọ̄.

A certain man went into a forest to gather Nabag-fruits. He filled two bags and one gourd. (While he was gathering the fruit) an elephant came, he lifted up one bag and put it into his mouth, then he lifted up the other bag and put it also into his mouth; at last the contents of the gourd as well. But two seeds were left in the gourd; they kept rattling, *kọr kọr kọr kọr*. When the man heard this, he looked up and saw the elephant. He was frightened and ran away, he jumped upon a tree. The thorns of the tree pricked him, but he did not heed it on account of his great fear. He got right into the thorns, his cloth was torn by the thorns. Suddenly he came near a great house. There he met a big old woman; he addressed her, "My mother, give me water!" She asked, "Where do you come from?" He replied, "No, do not ask me, give me water first!" So she gave him water first. Then he was seen by a dog, a dog with young ones. (He saw the young dogs, but not the old one, the mother). He asked the woman, "Are they all your children?" Then he saw the old dog, he was growling. He exclaimed, "Oh dear! shall I run away?" The dog replied, "If you beat me, I shall bite you." After that the big woman asked, "Why, my son, where

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do you come from?" He answered, "Be silent, I am chased by an elephant, a big elephant. This pot is quite as large as his testicles."[19] The woman replied, "Well, you do come just from the same place where my father has come from." The man said, "I know your father; is he not the one who has a neck on his necklace?"[19] The woman said, "Now, go on!"

He went away and met with a hippopotamus. The hippo was running (towards him), so he too ran, he came to a place with white sand, thinking it was a river. He tried to swim in the sand. Then people came, they seized him and brought him home. But in the night his heart beat so violently (from excitement), that he died.

87. The Boy and the Hyena.

Ńạl mẹ̄kọ gẹ kị ówẹ̀n gẹ́ wẹ̀lọ̀; ka wọu é yúḍọ̀. Ka ńál àkyẹ̀lọ̀ e ko: bụh! e ko: mach ụ yôtè kẹ̀ń? Ka ówẹ̀n e ko: kújà! Ka ńal ẹni ko: ya fa yẹ́fị (yáfị) mâch? Kịnẹ: ụ yânọ̀? gi[20] *ńál àkyẹ̀lọ̀. Kịne: yi fa dọń kị būte jam? Kịne: bụ́h! ụ châmè yán yì óṭwọ̆ṉ! Kịne: ệ, yi fa châm yị óṭwọ̆ṉ. Kịne: yâ bẹ̀ḍọ̀. Ka ńal ẹni ko: dẹ yi re fa kẹṭ bẹ̄ yaf kị mach? Ká è kò: ụ châmè yán yị óṭwọ̆ṉ. Ka kwọf ẹni wêì. Ka e ko: dẹ wâ búṭị! E ko: ệ, ụ châmè yán yị óṭwọ̆ṉ; ka ńal ẹni ko: ẹrẹ, buti kị féń; ya buta kị kwọ̄mì. Ka e ko: dẹ ụ tâyí féń yị óṭwọ̆ṉ, kị ya chámè ẹ́n! Ka e ko: ẹrẹ, bi, buti mâl kì kwọ̀mà, ụ kwâń yán yị óṭwọ̆ṉ, ka yí wêì yì ẹ́n. Ka ńal ẹni ko: á! yí gwọ́k ẹ̀dì? Yè kùdọ̀. Kịne: dẹ yí fá kẹ́ṭị mâl? Kịne: wiy yâṭ? Kịne: àwọ́. Ka yẹṭa mal. Ka ńal ẹni à tẹ̀k, ká èbúdọ́ kị feń.*

Ka óṭwọ̆ṉ e bẹ̄nọ bẹ̄ne bẹ̄ne bẹ̄ne; ka oṭwọṉ e chàṭọ̀ kị ṭa yaṭ. Ńál à tẹ̀k e nẹ́nọ̀, ka ńị ńwâch yi oṭwọṉ, ệ nẹ́nọ̀. Ńál à màl nẹ̄na féń chệṭ, dẹ bọ̄kọ bọ̄kọ; ká é dẹ̄mọ̀ màl yị wâ̱rọ̀, dẹ̄mọ́ kwọm óṭwọ̆ṉ, ka óṭwọ̆ṉ mákè ẹ́n kị́ yìṭẹ́, ká è kò: bói! yá kó kôp kịne: yu (yiu) mákè yán! Ka ótwọ̆ṉ é ywọ̀ńọ̀; ka oṭwọṉ ńị kuoḍọ, ka ńị dyabọ. Ka oṭwọṉ e rẹńọ bẹ̀nè, ka kẹṭa kẹch malaulau, ka ọṭwọṉ e ṭọ̄ kị yey warọ; ńal ẹni bẹ̄dō kị́ kwọ̀mẹ̀, ka ńị ko: bói, yá kó kôp kịne: yiu mákè yán! E̱ kôbì kệṭẹ̀.

Ḏụkị mwọl ka owẹn ḍwoṭa mal, ka lìḍá mâl, ńal ẹni tọ́k! Ka e ywọńọ, kịne: ówà châm yị oṭwọṉ! Ka e ḍúọ̀ḍọ̀, ká é chàṭọ̀ yej oṭwọṉ, oṭwọṉ chẹṭẹ gîr, ka e kẹṭa kẹń malaulau, ka ńal ẹni yôṭẹ̀ ẹ́n, ẹ kôbì kệṭẹ̀. Dẹ bẹ̄dọ kwọm oṭwọṉ, dẹ mīṭị yiṭe oṭwọṉ, oṭwọṉ ṭọ̄ kị yey wâ̱rọ̀. Ka ówẹ̀n è kò kịne: ḍwôṭ! Kịne: ệ wèi yán! Yá ko kôp, ya ko: yi ụ mâgà! Kịne: wu kôbị kí amện? gik owẹn. Kwọp ówẹ̀n fu lịńè ẹ́n, ka mákè yi ówẹ̀n kị chyẹ̀ńẹ̀; chyẹńẹ ṭẹ̄k kị rei yiṭ oṭwọṉ, ka yiṭe oṭwọṉ ńộl kị yi ówẹ̀n. Ka tíń màl. Ka e ḍuoḍọ, ka gẹ bẹ̄nọ kị owẹn, kịne: ńal, wẹti yiṭ ọṭwọn! Kwọf owẹn fa líńè ẹ́n; ka ńị ko: bói, ya ko kōbị: yi ụ mâgà. Ka gẹ waṉa pach, ka ṭẹ̄rọ bệnọ̀ bẹ̀nè, ka ṭẹ̄rọ ńẹ̄ṭị bẹ̀nè, ka lwẹ́ṭẹ́ gột kị rei yiṭ oṭwọṉ; ka yiṭ oṭwọṉ wẹ̀ṭì.

*539 A boy went travelling with his uncle. When the sun went down, the one said, "Why, where shall we find fire (for the night)?" The nephew said, "I do not know." The first said, "Shall I not go to look for fire?" "What shall I do in the meantime?" was the reply of the other one. His uncle said, "You stay here with our goods." "No," said the nephew, "I would be eaten by the hyena." He replied, "No, you will not be eaten by the hyena." But he said, "I refuse to stay here." Then his uncle asked, "Why will *you* not go to fetch fire?" But he replied again, "No, I would be eaten by the hyena." So they left this matter. His uncle asked, "Shall we not lie down now?" He replied, "No, I would be eaten by the hyena." His uncle said, "Well, you lie down below, and I will lie upon you." He replied, "But suppose you are rolled down in the night from upon me by the hyena? Then I shall be eaten by her." His uncle said, "Well, then you lie upon me, so I shall be taken by the hyena, and you will be spared by her." The boy said, "Ah! what are you going to do?" Then he was silent. Again his uncle asked, "Will you not go up?" He said, "On a tree?" The uncle replied, "Yes, on a tree." So he climbed on a tree, and the brave boy (the uncle) lay down on the ground.

In the night came all the hyenas; they walked below that tree. The brave boy slept. A hyena came and sniffled at him, but he was asleep (and so she left him undisturbed). But the boy on the tree was awake, he was looking down staringly, he was awfully afraid, and at once he fell down, and fell on the back of the hyena. He caught the hyena by her ears and said, "Ha! did I not say I would catch you?" The hyena cried, and she dunged, she dunged very much. She ran away with the boy to a very distant place. There the hyena died during that night.[31] The boy was still on her back, and he still continued saying, "Did I not say I would catch you?" He said these words continually.

The next morning his uncle arose. He looked up, the boy was not there! He began to cry, saying, "My nephew has been eaten by the hyena." He arose and followed the way of the hyena. The dung of the hyena was on the whole way. He went to a very distant place. There he found the boy, he was still talking (the same words). He was still on the back of the hyena, holding fast her ears. But the hyena had died in the night. His uncle said, "Rise up!" But he said, "No, leave me alone! I did say, 'I would catch you (the hyena).'" He asked, "To whom did you say so?" He did not listen to the words of his uncle. Then his uncle caught his hands; the hands were tight around the ears of the hyena, so that the uncle had to cut off the ears of the hyena. Then he lifted him up, he arose, and they came. The uncle said, "Boy, throw away the ears of the hyena!" But he did not listen to his uncle's talk, he only kept repeating, "Well, I did say I would catch you." When they came near their home, all the people came; they all laughed. They loosened his fingers from about the ears of the hyena and threw the ears away.

88. Nyajak.

Ḏay[22] mę̄kǫ yeję da ḏāṉ, ka e ńwǫlǫ, ka būl gǭch kį pach málu̧wí, dę tę̄rǫ ywotǫ būl: fān ęni fā fān ṅu. Ka ḏāṉ a chęt ńwǫl; tę̄rǫ ko: ę́, yi re kōbi? yi ṯęṉ! E ko: ę̂, ya kę́ḏǫ̀. Ḏāṉ ęni bę̄da jwǫk. Ka e kęḏǫ kį tę̄rǫ. Ka kǫṯ é mǫ̀kǫ̀, ka gę nęnǫ gǫ́l ṅù. Ṅu bę̄da ḏāṉ; ka kį wǫr owǫne é nę̀nǫ̀, ḏāṉ a chęt ńwǫl e nę̄nǫ, ṅāję̀ ę́n, ęna ṅu. Ka ṅu chama yęfa wǫt, ka ńan ęni ko: yin amę́n â? Ka ṅu ko: Ńàjàk! Ka ḏāṉ ṯęṉ ko: ě! e ko: yi nu̧ti nęnǫ? Kįne: ya nu̧ti nęnǫ. Kįne: yi da kęch? Kįne: àwǫ́! Kįne: yi fa nę́kè kį ońwǫk?[23] Kįne: àwǫ́! Ka ońwǫk nę́kè yį ṅu, ka ṯâl yi ṅu, ka wēke Ńajak, ka kwóńì yį Ńajak. Ka ṅu ko: Ńàjàk! Kįne: ę́? Kįne: ka yi châm yau! Ka eko: awǫ́! Ka yi nęn yau! Kįne: awǫ́! Ka ṅu kęḏǫ, ka kálá bę̄ḏǫ̀, ka e duǫgǫ, chama yępa wǫt. Ka Ńajak ko: yín amę́n â? Ka e ko: Ńàjàk, yí nu̧ti nę̄no? Kįne: ṅę̂! Kįne: yi da kęch? Kįne: awǫ́! Ka e ko: yi fa nęke waṯ? Ka e ko: awǫ́. Ka waṯ nę̂k, ka ṯāle ę́n, ka wēkį Ńajak; ka ṅu ko: châm yà! Kįne: awǫ́! Ka yi nęni ya! Kįne: awǫ́! Ka ṅu ḏǭgǫ, ka e duǫgǫ, yęfa wǫt, ka Ńajak ko: yin amę́n â? Kįne: Ńajak, yi nu̧ti nę̄nǫ? Kįne: awǫ! E ko: yi dwata ṅǫ? Rei da kęch? Kįne: awǫ! Ṅu ko: nęke yin ke dyęl? Ńajak ko: ę̂, ya kų nę́kè dyęl; ya da rǭḏǫ. Kįne: dę kān kį ṅṅǫ̀? Kįne: ę̂, kāni kį dǫṅǫ. Ka ręńa gǫt kį dǫṅǫ, ka ńį kępe kį pí, ka pi ńį rāra péń, ka chwê ńį ḏǭńa yeję, kį ńwǫl rech; ka gę ńį mû̧ti yį ṅu, ka ńį chįka tǭmǫ, ka pi ńį rāra peń. Ka ńį fę̄ka feń bę̄ mu̧t kį chwê, kį ńwǫl rech.

Ka Ńajak wō gę́n túkè ę́n, ka gę ḏwoṯį mal, kįne: ṅṅǫ̀? Ńajak ko: ṅu fa kama wâ châm? Ka e ko: chāmun kį riṅǫ anan! Ṅu ṅāje Ńajak fa chęt bę̄nǫ. Ka wō gęn kőfè ę́n kįne: ręńun! Ka wǫmǫn e réṅǫ̀, ręńa fōṯe gę́n. Ka Ńajak e ḏǭṅǫ. Ka ṅu kōrę e būḏǫ,[24] ka e bę̄nǫ, ká é chwǫ̀tǫ̀ kįne: Ńajak! E kudǫ. Kįne: Ńajak! e kudǫ. Ka ṅu ko: adī? Ńajak a nę̀nį. Ka bia wǫt, ka e ko: Ńajak! E kudǫ. Ka mach kōṯ, ka wǫmǫn yǒte ę́n gę ṯǭk. E ko: bų́h! Ńatyau Ńajak! Wǫte gęn a kǫ́lè ę́n! Ka Ńajak ko: â, faṯe yan ęn? Ka fārǫ kwǫm Ńajak, ka Ńajak e wāṅǫ. Kįne: ńatyau Ńajak, e kęṯa kęń? Ka Ńajak ko: faṯe yan ęn? Ka ṅu ńį fāra kwǫmę, ka fa máke ę́n, Ńajak ńį wāṅǫ. Ka ṅu kōrę būḏǫ. Ka Ńajak e kęḏǫ, e kúchè yį ṅu.

Ka wǫne wiṯa pach, ka ṅu ęni bę̄nǫ, ka yigį yaṯ maḏǭch, maduǫń, ęn olam: chuńe gęn mędǫ kį ęn. Ka Ńajak kǫ: wu kų ńį kęṯ ṯa yaṯ, yaṉ ęni fa ṅu! Kįne: ę̂, Ńajak e chaka fyęt. Ńajak ko: ó, ya rum kį kwǫp.[25] Ka ńwǫle woṯaṉǫ ńį kęįu wiy yaṯ, ka ṅu e fārǫ kį woṯaṉǫ. Ńajak ko: á, kwǫfa a lįṅè wún chę̂, ka jē wiṯe gę mu̧m, ka e kęḏǫ. Ńajak kęṯi yį ṅu, ka yige ḏāṉ maduǫń yū yū yū. Dę e kwǫmǫ kį kę̄mǫ; ka ṅu ko: ęna ńate ṅǫ a yǭ ę́n? E ko: ńan kwache fi! Ka ṯōṯe kį fi; ka e

*539 *māḏǫ, ka e dúǫ̀gǫ̀, ká è ḏǫ̀gǫ̀, ka e lǫgi̯ yējǫ. Ka ńu kęt̯a ga̯t bę̄ dwatǫ (dwętǫ) fi męn t̯āle ńań ęni. Ka kǫ̂l yi̯ Ńajak, ka gę ręńǫ, ka gę wan̯a fach.*

Ka ńu bę̄nǫ, ka e ko: bu̯h! ńań t̯ēn̯ gę kęt̯a gę kęń? Ko: fat̯e ńatyau Ńajak a kęl gęn? Ka e bę̄n ńu bia pach Ńajak, ka e yi̯gi̯ ńān madǭch, bę̄ wā̯jǫ ki̯ omia Ńajak. Ka ńu ko: omia Ńajak ágǫ̀n? Ki̯ne: chwǫ̂l! Ka omia Ńajak chwǫ̂l, ka gę wā̯jǫ. Ka Ńajak e bę̄nǫ, e ko: bú̯h! e ko: omia, yi re rach ki̯nau? Kúchè yin ęna ńu? Ka ńal ęni ko: kę̀t̯, yi rach ki̯ fyęt. Ka Ńajak ko: mǫgi, ya rum ke kwǫf. Ka Ńajak e kudǫ. Ka ńal ęni è nèńǫ̀, ka wań gǫ̂l yi̯ ńu.

Chōt̯i̯, ka ńu kęt̯a fārę, ka ḏu̯ki̯ omęn ywode ę́n, é ywǫ̀ńǫ̀. Ńajak ko: yi re? Ko: wań a gǫ̂l. Ka Ńajak ko: yá chá de kōbǫ ki̯ne: męn ęni (ani) fanę ńu; dę anan yi kōbi̯ adi? E kudǫ. Ka Ńajak e kęḏǫ, ka yigi̯ ḏā̯n̯ duǫń, ka e bę̄n, é chàt̯ǫ̀ kęt̯a fay ńu; ka wit̯a (wut̯a) fach, ka e ko: wēl a ḏá kàl ę́n! Ki̯ne: kā̯lí jwǫk! Ka e bę̄nǫ, ka e ko: bú̯h: ońi̯mia, yi nū̯ti bę̄dǫ kęń? Ka ńu ko: yin amęn? Ka e ko: ya fat̯e ńi̯miau, a kę́lè yōmǫ kāke duǫń? Ka e ko: ǭ, wija chaka wilǫ, ka ńu ywǫńǫ, chuńę mędǫ. Ka gę wā̯jǫ, gę ki̯ Ńajak; kúchè ńu; e ko, chǫgǫ nę ńi̯mę̀n. Ka Ńajak līḏa mal, ka wań omęn lē̯t̯è ę́n ki̯ mal, ka Ńajak e ko: ńemia! Ki̯ne: é? Ki̯ne: āńǫ a yǫm fę̄t ki̯ wǫt? Ńu ko ki̯ne: fat̯e wań omia Ńajak? Ńajak e ko: á yǫ̂tè ę yà kęń? E ko: ku̯ dwai àn, ka ria yiga ńan a ḏachǫ. Ka ńu ko: a gǭla wāńę. Ńajak e ko: ę́na kā̯l ę́n, ka dę ęrę a fa ki̯t̯i̯ wǫk? Ka ki̯t̯e wǫk; ńu ko: dę ku̯ gwâ̯rè agak? Ki̯ne: ę̂, fa gwâr, ú̯ kǫ̂r yi̯ wá. Ka Ńikań e fę̄chǫ ko: dę kwǫn u̯ t̯âlè ágǫ̀n? Ńu ki̯ne: a wǫ́l ę̀n! Ki̯ne: á, ḏǭch.

Ka ńu ko: ńi̯mia, ya kęt̯a ga̯t bę̄ dwętǫ pi. Ka Ńajak e ko: kę̀t̯! Ka ńu e ko: kǫ́ kǫ̂t̯, kor wań omia Ńajak, ki̯fa ǭ gwârè àgàk! wei ǫ́ t̯ád wà ki̯ gin cham. Ka Ńajak e ḏǭńǫ kí̯ tęḏǫt, ka ńu kęt̯a ga̯t, ka Ńajak wań omęn kwáńè ę́n; ka rei gę agak, ka e fū̯rǫ, ka ḏǭgǫ fōt̯e gę́n. Ka omęn yǫ̂tè ę́n, ka wań omęn ki̯t̯e, ka omęn e ḏǭńǫ.

Ka ńu bę̄ni̯ ki̯ ga̯t, ka wańe yōde gǫ tǫ̂k, ka ḏā̯n̯ ęni yǫ̂t ę tǫ̂k. Ka ńu ywǫńǫ, ki̯ne: bú̯h! yeńa ńatyau Ńajak! E ko: Ńajak, kōra būt̯ ki̯ yę; ya fu ḏǭk kę̄te! Chōt̯i̯, ka Ńajak wei yi ńu. Ka Ńajak e ḏǭń gę ki̯ ómę̀n. Ńu e chōgǫ, fa chi̯ki̯ dwǫń.

A woman was with child, and she bore a child (which was named Nyajak). One day the drum was beaten in a village far away. The people went to dance to the drum, this village (where the drum was being beaten) was the village of a lion. And the child which had just been born (too wanted to go to dance). The people asked her (the child, a girl), "How, why are you saying, you also want to go? You are still so small!" She said, "Never mind, I will go." This child was a *jwǫk*. It went with the people. When they arrived there, it began to rain, so they went into ("slept in") the house of the lion. This lion was a man.[26] During the night the other girls (who had come with Nyajak) slept, but

the child which had just been born, was awake; she knew that the man was a 539*
lion. The lion wanted to open the hut (where the girls slept), but this child (Nyajak) asked (from within), "Who is there?" The lion replied, "Nyajak!" The child answered, "Eh?" The lion went on, "Are you still awake?" Nyajak said, "I am not yet asleep." The lion questioned, "Are you hungry?" "Yes, I am." The lion went on, "Would you not like to have a ram killed?" Nyajak answered, "Yes I would." So the lion killed a ram; he cooked it and gave it Nyajak; Nyajak took it. Then the lion said, "Nyajak!" She replied, "Eh?" "Do eat!" enjoined the lion. She answered, "All right!" The lion added, "And then sleep!" Nyajak replied, "All right!" The lion went away and waited some time. Then he returned, trying to open the house. But Nyajak again asked, "Who are you?" The lion replied, "Nyajak, are you still awake?" Nyajak said, "Yes, I am." The lion asked, "Are you hungry?" Nyajak replied, "Yes, I am." "Would you not like to have an ox killed?" asked the lion. Nyajak said, "Yes, I would." So an ox was killed and was cooked by him and given to Nyajak. The lion said, "Do but eat!" Nyajak replied, "All right!" The lion turned away. After some time he came back and tried to open the hut. Nyajak asked, "Who are you?" The lion said, "Nyajak, are you still awake?" Nyajak said, "Yes, I am." The lion inquired, "What do you want? Are you hungry?" Nyajak replied, "Yes, I am." The lion said, "Have a goat killed!" Nyajak replied, "No, I won't have a goat killed, I am thirsty." The lion asked, "In what shall I bring water?" Nyajak said, "Why, bring it in a basket!" The lion ran to the river-bank with a basket, he dipped it into the water, but the water streamed down on the ground, only leeches and small fish remained in the basket. He thrust them out and dipped the basket again, but the water flowed out on the ground, and the lion sat down a second time to pick out the leeches and the small fish.

In the meantime Nyajak awakened the other girls, and they arose asking, "What is the matter?" Nyajak said, "Is not the lion going to eat us?" Then she said to them, "Eat this meat (the sheep and ox which the lion had killed for Nyajak)!" Nyajak knew the lion would not come back quickly. When they had eaten, Nyajak said to the girls, "Run away!" They ran away home to their country. Nyajak alone remained. At last the lion was tired (of dipping water with a basket), and he came calling, "Nyajak, are you asleep?" He came into the hut saying, "Nyajak!" She remained silent. The lion lighted a fire, and he found that the girls had gone. He said, "This cursed Nyajak has led her comrades away." Nyajak replied, "Why, am I not here?" The lion sprang at Nyajak, but she disappeared. The lion cried, "This cursed Nyajak, where has she gone?" Nyajak replied, "Am I not here?" The lion sprang again at her, *539 but did not catch her, Nyajak had disappeared. At last the lion was tired, and Nyajak went away; but the lion did not know it.

The girls arrived home. And the lion came to them; he had turned himself into a beautiful big tree, an olam (a sycomore fig); the girls liked him very much.[31] But Nyajak said, "Do not go under that tree! This tree is a lion!" They replied, "Why, Nyajak begins to lie!" Nyajak said, "All right, I shall say no more." The girls climbed on the tree; suddenly the lion seized them and fled away with them. Then Nyajak said, "Well, what did I say just now ("my talk has been heard by you exactly")?" The people were much perplexed; they went away. But Nyajak went to the lion, she turned into a very, very old man, she went limping on a crutch. When the lion saw her, he said, "What kind of man is this old person?" Nyajak replied, "A man begging for water." And he gave her water; then she went back. But presently she came back again, she had turned into a rat. The lion had just gone to the river-side to fetch water in order to cook the girls whom he had caught. Nyajak drove the children away and brought them home.

When the lion came back, he asked, "Why, where have the little children gone? Is it not this cursed Nyajak who has taken them away?" And the lion came into the village of Nyajak, he had turned into a very fine girl, he came to converse with the brother of Nyajak. The lion asked, "Where is the brother of Nyajak? Call him!" The brother of Nyajak was called, and they conversed together. But when Nyajak came, she exclaimed, "Oh dear, brother, how can you do such a wicked thing? Do you not know this is a lion?" The boy said, "Go away, you are a great liar ("you are bad with lying")." Nyajak replied, "It is your own affair, I shall say no more." And Nyajak remained silent. But while the boy slept, his eye was taken out by the lion.

That is all, and the lion went home to his village. But the next morning Nyajak found her brother weeping. She asked, "Why?" The boy answered, "My eye has been taken out!" Nyajak said, "Did I not tell you this man is a lion? what do you say now?" He was silent. Nyajak went away, she turned herself into an old woman, she went walking. When she arrived at the home of the lion, she cried, "Here is a traveller at the gate!" The lion replied, "Welcome!" She came in and exclaimed, "Oh, my brother, are you still here?" The lion replied, "Who are you?" Nyajak said, "Am I not your sister who had been carried away by the wind a long time ago?" The lion said, "Ah, my! I had almost forgotten!" The lion wept, he was very glad. And they talked together. The lion did not know that it was Nyajak, he believed her to be his sister. And Nyajak looked up and saw the eye of her brother. She said, "My brother!" The lion replied, "Eh?" She asked, "What is it makes such a bad

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smell in the house?" The lion answered, "It is the eye of the brother of Nyajak." Nyajak asked, "Where did you find that?" He answered, "I brought it, I had turned myself into a girl, and so I took out his eye." Nyajak said, "As you have brought it, will you not take it down (and show it to me)?" The lion took it down, saying "But mind, lest it be taken by the crow!" Nyajak said, "No, it will not be taken, we shall watch it." Then Nyajak asked, "But where is flour for cooking?" The lion answered, "It is just being pounded." Nyajak said, "Ah, that is good."

After some time the lion said, "Sister, I am going to the river-side to fetch water." Nyajak said, "Go!" The lion said, "Take heed, watch the eye of the brother of Nyajak, lest it be taken by the crow; we will cook it together with our meal." So Nyajak was left in the house, while the lion went to the river. But in the meantime Nyajak took the eye of her brother and then turned herself into a crow; she flew up and returned into her native country. She found her brother, put his eye into its place, and so her brother was cured.

When the lion came back from the river, he found that the eye had gone, and he saw that the woman was also gone. He began crying, "Alas, you cursed Nyajak!" Then he said, "My heart is tired with this Nyajak, I shall never return to her." That is all. And Nyajak was left alone by the lion, she lived with her brother. The lion remained in his place, he never returned anymore.

89. Ajang.

Ḏachǫ mę̄kǫ wǭdę̄ chwǫ̀lá Ajań. Rach kį órǫ̀k, rǫk gīr, dę ṯęrǫ bę̄n chuńe gęn rach kį ęn; fa ńį furǫ byęl ńį chákà kwál. Māyę yeję fęt, e ko: ńal ęni gwǫ́kè yán kįdi? Ka e kęḏǫ, é chāṯǫ̀ kį ńal ęni, é kę̄ḏǫ̀ kį gǫ̀n, kę̄ḏǫ̀ kúndó gǫt. Kęń ęni lǫ́wà chārǫ̀ kį pach, ka gę bę̄ḏǫ kį ṯįńe nàm. Ka māyę̀ ywǫ̀ńǫ̀, e ko: bų́h! Ya kōba kįdi kį wǭḏà? A fę̄ḏé yeja! ęrę byńe ńań, mę́n bì gǫ wèkè ęn!

Ka jal mę̄kǫ e bę̄ńǫ̀, ká è kò: ḓāṉ, yí rè ywǫ̀ń? Kįne: yeja fę̄t yį wǭḏà, wǫda ńį kwala jàmé ṯęrǫ̀; dę yan ya kę̄l ęn, ų dě ńań gǫ wèkè ęn. Ka jal ęni ko: ų wèké yán, ų fēṯè yán! Ka ḓáchǫ̀ kùḏǫ̀. E ko: yí kų́ bǭlà, ų fēṯè yán, ų ńi ṯǭṯé kį jámę́, ų fwóńè yán kį́ gwǫ̀k. E ko: kęń fǫr dwai, e ko: ńį bi, ka yi chwǫṯí kįne: wiy nam! E ko: ya ų bi wǫ̀k. E ko: ų jám, jámé wǭḏì, gę ńį wékà yín. Ka e ko: dǭch yàu! Ka jal ęni kę́ṯá nám, gę́ lwǫ̀ṯǫ̀ kį ńa ńal ę́ní, ka kęṯa nam. Ka gę rǭńǫ̀.

Chǒṯį, ka ḓāṉ ęni kęṯa pach; ka ńa fǫr dwai, ka ḓāṉ ęni e bę̄no, ká é chwǫ̀ṯǫ̀: wiy nam! Ka jal ęni yei, ka e bęno, gę kį ńa ńal ṯęṉ; ńál ę́ní chwé chārǫ̀; mayę chúńè mę̀ḏǫ̀. Ka gę mǫṯa kį mayę, ka mayę kęṯa pach; ka jal ęni dǭgá nàm.

Dę ḓāṉ a ḓachǫ chuńę mędǫ kį ńa ńal ṯęṉ. Ka ńal ṯęṉ é ḏǭńǫ̀, mayę ńį ṯǭṯé kį jám kį́ chų̄ń, ka ńal ęni e didǫ kį dǭch kį gwǫk jal ęni; gwǫk jal ęni bę̄ńè a kwáńè ńál ę́ní.

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Ka ńal ẹni ṭâpè yi ńá gọ́l jál ẹ́ní, ụ gẹ kẹ́pè gẹ́n. Ka gẹ kẹ́pọ̀ kị ńal ẹni. Ka ḍāṇ ẹni e ko: wá fa fọ̄r? E ko: ẹ́, wá fa fọ̄r! Kịne: dẹ anan, yi ụ (yu) gọ̄k èdì? Kịne: ẹ̄, kúchè yán! Ka ńal ẹni wijẹ mūmọ̀ kị yi yǒ, mẹn kẹ́ṭị́ wọ́k.

Jal ẹni kẹṭ bẹ̄ wẹ̄lọ̀. Dẹ ḍọk gīr kị yẹ, wate bań gīr kị yẹ, dyẹk gīr kị yẹ, jâm bẹ̄n kị yẹ. Ka e ko: dẹ ya kẹḍa kịdì? Ḏāṇ ẹni ko: kwań lōṭ jāl ẹ́ní, ka yi kẹṭ, yi ụ yite kị yǒ. E ko: ụ bẹ̄ńẹ́, yī ká nā̤k, ụ ṭówẹ́, ka yí bì wā bẹ̄dọ̀. Ka ńal ẹni e kẹḍọ, ka mayẹ ywodẹ, ka fyech yị mayẹ kịne: yi re bẹ̄n? Kịne: yā bì, chuńa rach kị jal ẹni yá rûm kị́ gwọ̄k. Ká è gẹ̄dọ̀ kị fārẹ̀, ka ṭẹr ńị bia yẹ, ka ṭẹrọ bia (biẹ) bẹ̄ ńeau kị fi kị yẹ, figè à yìń yẹ̀, e mẹ̀dọ̀. Ka ṭẹrọ tōdọ̀ kịne Ajań ya fṳ̄l kun a chịṇẹ̄. Ka jal ẹni e bẹ̄nọ, ka e yọgọ obírọ̀, ka e kịṭị fi, ka wẹ̄kè ńal ẹ́ní, e kuche yị ḍāṇ ẹni. Ka ńal ẹni e ko: máyọ́! Kịne: ẹ́! Kịne: fùń àn ku kā̤l! Ka fuń ẹni wẹ̄ì kị yi mẹn. Ka ńal ẹni ḍwoḍọ chàmá kẹṭa wok, ka reyi gẹ e yíḡọ́ ḍāṇ, ka rẹ̄ńá báń ńal ẹni. Ka ńal ẹni e yigọ chôr, ká è fṳ̄rọ̀; ka jal ẹni e yigọ chôr, ka fṳ̄ra bāńẹ. Ka gẹ kẹḍọ, gẹ́ rīńọ̀. Ka reyi gẹn ńị mákẹ́, ka gẹ ńị fṳ̄ḍọ kị ńal ẹni. Ka ńal ẹni yịk ágàk, ka jal ẹni yịk ágàk, ka gẹ kẹḍọ kị́ gọ̀n, ka ńal ẹni dẹ̄má nam, ka ḍāṇ ẹni ṭọńẹ a mén fén yi ńa gọ́l gẹ́n, ka jal ẹni dẹ̄má kwọ̀m ṭọ́ń; ka yọjẹ tôyì yi ṭọ́ń, ka jal ẹni é ṭọ̄, ka rẹp kị mach. Ka ńal ẹni kẹṭa bẹ̄ dwai mayẹ kị jámẹ́, ka ńa gọl jal ẹni yigi chẹ̄gẹ̀, ka bāńé jal ẹni yigi mọ́gẹ́ kị jam bẹ̄n.

A woman had a son whose name was Ajang; he was very wicked and did many evil things. All people were dissatisfied with him. Whenever they planted dura and it began to ripen, he used to steal it. His mother was tired with him she said, "What shall I do with this boy?" She went away with her son and came with him to some river. The place was very far away from their home. They sat down on the river-bank, the mother began to cry, saying, "Alas, what shall I say concerning my boy? My heart is tired with him. Why, if only a crocodile would come, I would give him the boy!"

Then a man came, he asked, "Woman, why are you crying?" She answered, "My heart is weary with my son; he has a habit of stealing other peoples' property; so I have brought him here (thinking), perhaps there might be a crocodile to whom I could give my son." The man replied, "Give him to me, I will educate him." The woman remained silent. The man said, "Do not be afraid, he will be educated by me, I will give him goods, I shall teach him to work, and each month you may come to the river and call me, 'Father of the river!' Then I shall come out and give you the goods belonging to your son." The woman replied, "All right!" So the man went into the river with the boy. They waded into the water, went towards the middle, and dived there.

That is all, and the woman went home. When one month had passed, she came and called, "Father of the river!" The man at once replied to her call and he came out with the boy. The boy was very fat; so the mother was

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well pleased. They greeted the mother, and then she went home, and the man with the boy returned to the river.

The mother was very much pleased with her son; by and by he grew up, and each time (when she went to the river) the mother used to receive some goods; the boy was very diligent in learning the crafts of the man; he mastered all the crafts of the man.

But the wife of this man (of the father of the river) tried to persuade the boy to run away with her. She asked him, "Shall we not run away?" Again she asked, "What would you do here any longer?" The boy replied, "Why, I do not know." He was much perplexed, not knowing a way which might lead them out. — The man had gone on a journey. But he had plenty of cows, many goats, and all kinds of goods. — Now the boy asked, "But how shall I get out?" The woman replied, "Take the club of the man and go, and you will find the way. If he comes, kill him, so that he dies; then come back, and we will live together." The boy went; he found his mother and was asked by her, "Why do you come?" He answered, "I am very much dissatisfied with that man, I have stopped working with him."

The boy built a village, in which he lived; and the people used to come to him to buy water from him, because the water he had was sweet. But the people told the man (the father of the river), "Ajang is in the bush yonder." So the man came, he turned himself into a pot which he filled with water. The mother of Ajang gave him the pot, she did not know the pot was a man. But the boy warned his mother, "Mother!" She asked, "Eh?" He said, "Do not take this pot!" So every one left the pot alone. The boy arose to go out. Then the pot turned into a man and ran after the boy; the boy now turned into a vulture and flew away; the man also turned into a vulture and followed him flying. So they were flying in the air; the man seized the boy and fell on him. Then the boy turned into a crow, but the man also became a crow, always pursuing him; at last the boy fell into the river (in which the man's wife was still living, waiting for the return of the boy). The wife put her husband's spear into the ground, her husband fell on the spear, his belly was pierced by the spear so that he died; and he was put into the fire ("was seized by fire"). Then the boy went to bring some of the goods to his mother; and the wife of the man became his wife, the slaves and all the property of the man became his.

90. The Snake.

Ka jī mękę é węlö, węlę Mgnę, ka gę kędö, ka gę wiię, ka gę wańę yö, ka gę ġwa yu ńwel, ka gę fęka fen, ka gę ko: bęth! u pen tich edi? Ka jwǫl e lęng, ńwel, *539 *ka jal akyṯlo pǭra mal, kine: ṯwǫl anan! Jal akyęl ko: á, faṯe ṯwǫl, bā riṯ! Kine: faṯe ṯwǫl dugń? Ka jal ęni é rę̄ńó, ka pąna gūdi yaṯ; ka ṯwǫl ę pę̄chò, kine: jal akyęl a kęṯa kęn? Kine: kúchè yán. Kine: dę yí rè dǭń? Kine: jal e cha e kōbǫ kine: yina ṯwǫl, dę yá kò: dę yi ba riṯ, dę e ko: yi ba ṯwǫl! Kine: ē, ka gǫ kājį, ka e ṯō. Ka ṯwǫl e kędǫ, ka jal e bęng e lę́pé lę́pò, ka kęję kōng pén, ka nyęna pen. Ka ṯwǫl e bęng, ka e yū̧bǫ, jal ęni ṯǭk, ka ṯwǫl e kędǫ, ka ṯwǫl kālę tǫ́n. Ka ṯwǫl pǭra mal, ka jal ęni ręna pen, ka ṯwǫl e yū̧bǫ, yapa jal ęni, ka e bęng, ka dugga pén; ka gūdę chǭte pen, ka e ṯō.*

Ka jal ęni bia wǫk, ka kęṯa pach. Ka e ko: ṯwǫl a nǭgá. Jal acha a kājį! Ka jī ko: į, ḏān nákè yín! Kine: kų kōpè yà kōpǫ, kine: ṯwǫl a bia cha, dę e rén wa. Ka e ko: che gǫn a riṯ! Ka ya ko: ṯwǫl dugń! A bęné, a nǭgé ḏān, a kę́ḏá, a yōdá ḏān é ṯō. A kwǫ́ná kę́jà, a bęn ṯwǫl, a kęla ki tǫ́n, a ṯówį. A kōbi jī: kęḏe lęį wa. A kęṯ jī, a yōdę́, é ṯō. A kōbi jī kine: ō, dǭch, dwai wǫṯ! A kǫl wǫṯ, a lāmé, a chwǫ̀p gę́n, a gwęn chūwé, a kǫl ki pach. A ywǫk ḏān, a dwai chā ńwęl, a lę́gó wǫl.

Some people travelled to *Mǭńǫ*. As they were walking and had reached a certain place, they lost their way. They turned aside at the trace of a snake. At last they sat down, saying, "Why, what shall we do in this country?" Then a snake came, a *ńwel*; one of the men at once jumped up, crying, "There's a snake!" The other one said, "Oh no, it is not a snake, it is a king!" His friend said, "Is it not a big snake?" This man ran away, he hid himself behind a tree. The snake said to the one who remained, "Where has the other man gone?" He answered, "I do not know." Again she asked, "But why do you remain?" He answered, "That man said you were a snake, but I said you were a king; he said again you were a snake." The snake only replied, "Eh?" then she bit him, and he died.

When the snake had gone away, the other man came crawling cautiously; he had dug a hole at his place; he made it deep in the earth. The snake came and searched, but the man was not there. While she was going away, she was stabbed by the man; she jumped up, the man ran into his hole. The snake was searching, she searched for the man. At last she came down, in falling her belly was thrown violently on the earth, and she died!

Then the man came out and went home. He told the people, "I have killed a snake! The man who accompanied me, was bitten by her!" The people replied, "Ah, *you* have killed that man." He answered, "Did I not tell him, 'there is a snake coming, let us run!?' But he said, 'No, it is a king!' I said, 'No, it is a great snake!' The snake came, she killed the man, I ran away, and when I came back, I found the man dead. After that I dug a hole in the place where I was, and when the snake came, she was stabbed by me with the spear, and she died." The people said, "Let us go and see it!" The people went and found (him i. e. the man, or, the snake? probably the latter) dead. They said, "Why, all right, bring oxen!" And oxen were brought, they prayed, then the oxen were speared. They picked the bones of the man up, and brought them home. The women wept (mourned). They brought the bones of the snake too, they became a charm.

91. The Crocodile Hunter.

Ńań mẹ̄kọ rach kị make fè; ka òyínò dwai; ka oying bị̄ṇọ, ka e kāng gwok, ka gwok mīk fen kị būte nam. Ka gwok e ywọ̄gọ ywọ̄k, ka ńań e liń, ka e chiu, ka e bẹ̄n e riń, cham é shāng, kí è rịṇò. Jal gwi e budọ kị yẹy lūm, ka ńań pẹ̄ra mal, ka kāl yi jal gwi, ka ńań fẹ̄ra nam. Ka fè bẹ̄n, ka mākè yí tẹ̄rọ, ka tẹ̄l yí tẹ̄rọ, chama wope ḍa (dọ) wok. Ka chịkị bẹ̄lọ, ka ṭol shōte yí ńań, ka e kẹ̄ḍọ ńań.

Ka jal gwi e dẹ̄pọ, chwọ̄g rach. Ka ńań e kẹ̄ḍọ, ka jal gwi e kẹ̄ḍọ, ẹ kwau kị yẹi. Ka wiḍa pach mẹ̄kọ, ka e ńwau kị gin cham, ka dẹ̄gẹ yí yẹi, kí é chẹ̄ṭọ, ka ńań yūt (yūt) e wiṭị fōṭe gẹ̄n; ńań bọ̄da ḍōp. Ka jal bia wọ̄k, ka kẹṭa pach, ka kẹṭa gol ńań. Ka e lẹ̄ḍọ kị ḍá kāl, kí é chwọ̄ṭọ kịne: wẹ̄l a ḍá kāl gẹ! Ka chwọl kịne: bí kal! Ka e bẹ̄ṇọ, ka fẹ̄ka fen, ka ṭōṭe kị gin cham, kí è chāmọ, ka ṭōṭe kị mẹgẹ gẹ̄r, ka e mẹ̄ḍọ, ka e butọ. Ka lịḍa mal, ka leńọ līkè ẹn kị mal; ka len akyẹ̄lọ lịṭe gẹ kị mal. Chōṭị, ka ńal gwi e fẹ̄ṭọkọ kịne: ńẹn, ka e yēi. Kịne: jal gẹl un e kẹṭẹ kẹ̄ń? Kịne a kẹṭ de pach! Kịne: chwọl! Ka e dwai. Kịne: ya chwọ̄l yị mẹn? Kịne: yi chwọl yí wẹ̄l! Ka e bẹ̄ṇọ, ka gẹ mẹ̄ṭọ. Ka e ko: ómyẹ̄, yí bia kẹ̄ń? E ko: ya kẹla fōṭe wālẹ̄ḍwālẹ̄ḍẹ; e ko: ya bí bẹ yafa leńọ. E ko: ya kẹla ńań, ńań marach kị cham kị fè; e ko: ya chako yaf, kọ: fēn gẹ a lịḍa leńọ kị mal, kị mẹn akyẹ̄lọ. E ko: dẹ chwọ̄lo, ńań a ṭẹ̄: dẹ yi kōbị adi? fa wẹ̄kì yẹn? Ka jal gwi ko: ńań gwi bẹ̄ḍā ḍōp. E ko: faṭe yan gẹ, gwa kẹla yin? E ko: tẹ̄ń fa lịṭe yin kị wań bōta? Kị mẹn akyẹl a wań ywōṭị́ gẹ! Ka jal gwi e bwọgọ, e ḍalị yị kwẹ̄p. E ko: yi u dẹ̄k bẹ ńẹke ńań kẹṭi? E ko: ẹ́, ya fa dẹ̄k. Ka gẹ kwāńọ wọ̄k, ka gẹ wẹ̄kị. E ko: ńa ńań maṭẹ̄ṇọ, e ko, kẹ̄ń ụ ńẹ̄gi, e ko: gẹli u tyẹ̄kè yān. Ka jal gwi ko: ẹ́, ya fa dẹ̄k kị ńẹke ńań. Ka ńań e ko: awo, kẹ̄ṭ! Chōṭị, ka ńal e kẹ̄ḍọ. Dị́ é lẹ̄kọ, e chẹ̄gẹ, fa chẹ̄ka ńẹke ńań.

A crocodile was very bad in catching people (caught very many people). And a crocodile hunter was sent for. The crocodile hunter came; he took a dog and tied it to the ground on the side of the river. The dog began howling at once; the crocodile heard it and came to the surface. It came running, and when it was near enough, it dived again. The hunter was lying amidst the grass. When the crocodile jumped up (to catch the dog), it was stabbed by the man; the crocodile jumped back into the river. But people came, and the crocodile was caught by them and pulled out. When they were near the river

*539 bank, they stabbed it a second time; but then the rope was broken by the crocodile, and it swam away.

The man was left on the river-bank; he was vexed. When the crocodile had gone away, the man also went; he rowed a boat and came to a village, and brought food, then he returned to his boat, and went on rowing. And he found out the crocodile had gone home to its own country. This crocodile was a man. And the man left his boat and went into a certain village. He went into the enclosure of the crocodile (but without knowing that it was the crocodile's). He remained outside the fence and called out, "A traveller is at the gate!" From inside some one called, "Come in!" He came and sat down. Food was given to him, and he ate, much beer was given to him, and he drank. Then he lay down. When he looked up, he saw a harpoon above (sticking in the roof of the hut); and he saw still another harpoon above. The man asked, "Girl!" She answered, and he went on, "Where has the man of your home gone?" (Only the girl was at home). She replied, "He has gone into the village." He said, "Call him." So she sent for him. The man asked, "By whom am I called?" He was answered, "By a traveller." He came, and they saluted each other. The man asked, "Brother, where do you come from?" The crocodile hunter answered, "I come from a very distant country, I have come to search a harpoon, I stabbed a crocodile, a crocodile which was famous for having eaten many people. When I was searching, I saw a harpoon in this place, above there; and I saw another one too. But I thought, the crocodile was dead (and now I find here my two harpoons with which I stabbed the crocodile)! What do you say of that? Will you not give them to me?" The man said, "This crocodile was a man! Is it not I who was stabbed by you? Do you not see the spear-wound in my side, and the other one in my arm-pit here?" When the man heard that, he was afraid; he did not know what to say. The other asked him, "Will you ever again go to hunt crocodiles?" He said, "No, I shall not do it again." Then the man took the harpoons down and gave them to him. But he said, "If you kill even a small crocodile child, I shall finish up your whole family!" But the crocodile hunter said, "No, I shall not kill crocodiles any more." Then the crocodile said, "Well, go!" That is all, the man went away. But he was afraid, he kept to his word, he never killed crocodiles again.

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[1] "they [illegible] two days": they passed two days, two days passed.
[2] "they found women only them": they found only women.
[3] if (you) go home.
[4] if you do not tell; in conditional negative sentences *ku* generally is used.
[5] Taking the stranger's question for an insult.
[6] "and the mouth of one calabash, and he opened it".

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[7] *nè* has low tone; here a high tone is added to it representing the *é* "he", which is dropped, but its tone is preserved.
[8] "he is man where?" of which place is this man? *kɛ́* originally means place.
[9] "he was not known to his father, but he, his father was known to him."
[10] Probably the wife of the lion.
[11] This is to show that not a single person (lion), not even the cripples, the blind and the deaf, remained at home.
[12] They were left because they could not dance, and so did not fall into the pit.
[13] Who these slaves are, and why the cattle without horns were killed, is not clear.
[14] The leopard skin is the royal robe.
[15] This story vividly recalls that of Genesis chapter 37, and 42—46.
[16] from *tugo*.
[17] Such was the dowry in "the good old time."
[18] instead of *chyẹte yi*.
[19] of course he ought to have said, "his testicles are as big as this pot," and, "who has a necklace on his neck." Apparently from excitement and confusion the man misplaces his words.
[20] *gik*.
[21] From exhaustion.
[22] from *ɖacho*.
[23] will you not have killed a ram?
[24] and the lion, his breast was tired.
[25] I have finished with talking, that is: I shall say no more, (since you will not hear)!
[26] Was a man who was able to change himself into a lion, and into a tree; see below.
[27] The olam is a tree with a broad, beautiful shady crown.

XIII. ANECDOTES.

92. The Travellers.

*539 *Jǫk akyẹlǫ é wẹ̄lǫ, ka gę mákè yį kęch. Mǫgǫ nut kį yi gęn, męn ye da aṯẹp, ę fáń, ka jal akyęl chyęńę ṯẹ̄k, lẹ̄da gǒró, jal akyęl ńį́ chầm kį rei mǫkę. Ka gǫ ńį fyẹ̄jǫ kįne: ówà, yi fa ṯǒṯe kį rei mǫki? Kįne: ę́, ya ky ṯǒṯè.*[1] *Ka jal gni e kudǫ. Ka ńį wei bẹ̄dǫ kį kęch. Ka ńį chįka fẹ̄chǫ ḏųki, kįne: jal ówà, yi fa ṯǒṯe? Ka e ko: Kį rei mǫka wala kį rei mǫkí: Kįne: ę́, ke rei mǫki. Kįne: ya ky ṯǒṯe. Ka ńį chįki fyẹ̄chǫ kįne: ówà, yi fa ṯǒṯe? Kįne: kį rei mǫka wala kį rei mǫki? Kįne: ę́, kį rei mǫka. Ko: ṯǒṯe yan kį ńá-máṯẹ̄n,*[2] *ka ṯǒṯe kį rei mǫkę. Kuche gn, gǫn a mǫkę. E kǫmę ṯẹ̄; ká è chầmǫ̀, ka e yãńǫ, ka e ḏuoḏǫ, ka ńį́ wẹ̄jǫ̀, ka chįka fyẹ̄chǫ, kįne: yi fa ṯǒṯe yi mǫgǫ? Kįne: rei mǫka wala rei mǫki? Kįne rei mǫka. Ka ṯǒṯe kį réi mǫkę, ka e chãmǫ.*

Ka ḏuki ko: wà kẹ̄ṯ! Kįne: àwǫ̀! Jal gni ę́ chwè; chama ńwal aṯẹ̄bę, ka aṯẹ̄bę yǒṯe én, mǫgę dǫń e ngk. Kįne: ę́, mǫk a cham yį męn? Ńal gni ko: męn an ńį chầmè yín kį chãńi. Kįne: ę́, ęrę mǫka nũti wei yin? Kįne: ę́, kęń de ṯẹ̄u kį yi kęch, mǫń gni fa re dǫń kį feń? yi re cham adi? Ká è kùdǫ̀.

Chǒṯį, ka kẹ̄ṯi fǒṯe gẹ́n, ka wiṯa pach, ka tyęń gǫlę yǒṯè ę́n, e ńwǫl kį ńa-wẹ̄dę, ka ńal akyęl ńa-gǫl yǒṯè gǫn ńwẹ̄lǫ kį ńa-ńãrę. Tyęń gni chuńe gęn mǫdǫ, kį rei ę gęn yǫka (yǫga) mẹ̄ṯ, kįne: ńa-wẹ̄da ų dẹ̄ńǫ cha mẹ̄kǫ, kį ńan ńãri ke wei ńẹ̄me réi gẹ́n, kįfa wa mẹ̄ṯ.

A dẹ̄ńį ńal ṯẹ̄n, ka gę ńwǫm, ka gę bẹ̄dǫ kį gǒl gẹ́n, ka gǫl gẹ́n ę yigi kyẹ̀l. A chõk.

Two men were travelling together. On their way they became hungry, but they had food with them; each had a bag full of food. But one man was stingy, he was a niggard. But the other man used to eat of his food. And he asked his companion, saying, "Brother, shall I not give you of your food?" He replied, "No, don't give me!" His friend was silent; he left his friend hungering. But the next day he asked him again, "Man, brother, shall I not give you?" He replied, "Of my food or of yours?" The friend answered, "Why, of yours." He replied, "Don't give me!" Again he asked, "Shall I not give you?" He asked, "Of my own or of yours?" He answered, "Well, of mine." Then he said, "Give me a little!" And he gave him of his (of the stingy one's). But the stingy one did not know that it was of his own. He was almost dying of hunger, so he ate. When he had had enough, he rose and began to talk. The next day his friend asked him once more, "Shall I not give you some food?" He replied, "Of mine or of yours?" The friend said, "Of mine." But he again gave him of his (the stingy one's), and he ate. The next morning he said, "Let us go!" His friend replied, "All right." He had recovered his strength; he wanted to feel his bag. When he found that there was but a little left in his bag, he asked, "Why, who has eaten my food?" His friend said, "You yourself have eaten of it every day." He replied, "How, did you not leave untouched my food?" The friend said, "If you had died of hunger, for what reason should that food have been left? what should you have done with it?" The man was silent.

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[1] "I will not be given"; "may I not be given".

[2] "a small child", that is: a little bit.

That is all, and they went into their country. When they arrived in their village, they found that both their wives had born children, one a girl and one a boy. So they were both very glad, and they became friends. The stingy one said to his friend, "Friend, some day when my son has grown up, then let him marry your daughter, because we are friends."

The girl grew up, and they married, and they lived in both their homes (inhabited the homes of both their parents), and their homes became one. It is finished.

93. A Goat-story.

Dygl a kǭlǫ̀ kį Tūńǫ̀ kį Achęte-gwok, ka kįta Ákųrųwár, ka dygl é lǫ̀yǫ̀, ka ńį tęna fān, ka ńį nę́nǫ̀, ka ńį ńwǭlǫ̀. Ka dųkį dygl ńį kę́dǫ̀, ńį kędǫ fān, ka ńį ńwǭlǫ, ka ńį dwodǫ, ka ńį kęta fān, ka ńį ńwǭlǫ. Dųkį ka ńį dwodǫ kį ńwǫlę kį bāńg, ka ńį kęta fān, ka ńį ńwǭlǫ̀, ka ńį ngǫ, ka ńį dwodǫ kį ńwǫlę ke bāńg, ka gįtę́ Tūńǫ̀ Achęte-gwok, ńwǫlę gīr.

A goat was brought from *Tūńǫ Achęte-gwok*, it was brought to *Akyrywar;* there the goat ran away and turned to a certain village, there it stayed (for some time) and brought forth young ones. The next day the goat went away, it went to another village and brought forth young ones again. After that it arose, went to some village and brought forth young ones. The next day it arose, with all its young ones behind it; it went to another village, there it brought forth young ones; it stayed there for some time and then arose with its young ones behind it. At last it arrived again at *Tūńǫ Achęte-gwok*, with plenty of young ones.

94. The Glutton.

Fet da kęch, kęch madugá. Dę jal akyǭlǫ ye by bygl, dę ńį chama byp. Ka bygl e dǭńg, ka bygl e chǭgǫ, ka dąke kęch gen kį bygl, ka ńį chām kį abwok, kį ńǭr, kį ńim. Ka bygl chǭgǫ, ka ńa gǫlę kǒfé kįne: fādi gin cham madugá! Ka yi ńǭch kį bygl, ka yi bąk kį abwok, ka yi ńǭch kį ńǭr, ka yi kygt kį omǭt, ka yi kygt kį ńim, ka yi tęà kį maña mátǫ́! Ka gę tum, ka gik gni kǭl, ko: chip ńima kā! Ka fālǫ̀ fākè ęn, ka e chāmǫ̀; ka ńį chįkį chāmà kęn, ka ńį chākà kęn. Ká è yūńg, ka e ko:

*539 *cham! e kǫ̈bę kętę. Yęję bán chám, ko: yi tę̣ tịn! Yęję bań. Ka fālǫ kwánè ęn, e ko: ótyịn yi ńị chama byp, dę kōra būt ki yí, ę, chắm! Yęję bańe cham; ka yęję chwǫ́pè ęn, ka e tǫ.*

There was a famine, a great famine. One man had no more dura, he used to eat mud. When the (new) dura had grown up and it ripened, and the time had come for the people to rub dura-ears in their hands, and they ate the new dura, and maize, and beans, and sesame, and the dura was quite ripe, then this man said to his wife, "Prepare a great meal, boil dura, and cook maize, and boil beans, and roast green dura, and roast sesame, and prepare vegetables too." When all these things were ready, the woman brought them. He said to her, "Put them before me!" Then he sharpened his knife and began to eat. He ate, now from this, now from some other dish. When he was filled, he said, "Eat!" — He said this to himself. — But his belly refused to eat any more, it said, "You will die at once!" His belly refused. Then he took the knife and said, "Formerly you (belly) used to eat mud, and I was tired with you, why, eat!" But his belly refused to eat. He took his knife and stabbed his belly, and he died.

95. Bachet.

Ye[1] jal má rịt, ye da wʊt bắnẹ, ńịńẹ Bachet; wẹn chuńę mẹdǫ. Ka Bachet gẹtè kị fārę, ká è lẹdǫ̀ wắl, ẹn a jāgǫ̀. Ká tẹrǫ̀ chúnè gẹ́n yígị márách kị Bachet; ka gẹ ńị bię bẹ gǫ́ń. Ka Bachet ńị chwǫ̂l, ka e bẹng, é tyẹ̀tǫ̀ kị kǫ̂t. Ka ńị fyệt chè yi rịt kịne: ắnǫ̀ a tyétí? Kịne: wuo! Kịne: ya bię bẹ gyẹ̀r kị kàl. Ká rịt è kò: wʊt bắńà, wiji ńệtí wìlǫ̀ kị gyẹr kị gǫ̂là? Ka rịt chuńę yiga márách kị tẹrǫ̀, kịne: wu chaga fyẹt. Ka ńal ẹni wệl dệgẹ́ fārẹ̀, ka kę̣ta fārẹ̀.

Ká tẹrǫ̀ ńị fǫ̂tè ẹn, ká jámè tẹrǫ̀ ńị kápè ẹn. Ka tẹrę ńị bię bẹ gǫ́ń. Ka ńị chwǫ̂l, kịne: kǫ̂fì Bachet, kǫ́ bì ẹ́ yà wiy kyẹ́ń, ka kǫ́ bì é chậ̂tà tyệlẹ́. Ka Bachet bện, e chậ̂tẹ kị wiy kyẹ́ń, chà fāch é chắńǫ̀, ká yíệá wǫ̂k kị wíy kyẹ̀ń, ka tyẹ̀l àkyệlǫ̀ weyẹ wíy kyẹ́ń, ká tyẹ̀l àkyệlǫ̀ yẹ́ńa jén, ka e bện é chậ̂tǫ̀. Ka rịt e ko: á gìn ắnǫ̀ à gwǫ́k kị yín kệńàu? Kắ è kò: fatẹ yin a kǭp kịne: yá kǫ́ chậ̂tị kị wiy kyẹ́ń, kịne: yá kǫ́ chậ̂tị kị fén? A wéyá tyẹlà ákyẹ̀l kị wíy kyẹ̀ń, a weya tyẹla akyẹl kị feń. Ka rịt é ńệtǫ̀, ká è kò: yí bệt, yí fa nẹ́kè yán; kẹt dệk fāri!

Ka Bachet dệgǫ. Ka dệgǫ́ yi kwǫ́pẹ́, ka tyẹ́ń ẹ́ni bię bẹ̀ gǫ́ń yi rịt. Ka rịt e ko: Bachet ẹ nẹ́kè yán de chań tin! Kịne kệjun! Ká gẹ́ kệdǫ̀. Kịne: kắnè mẹng kị tệń gyẹ̄ng! wu bệnǫ̀! Ka mẹn ńị kắnǫ̀ (kệnǫ̀). Ka Bachet dwǫ́l, Bachet fa kǫ̂pè yi rịt. Ká è bệnǫ̀, ẹ by tệń gyẹ̄ng, má kệlè ẹn. Ka rịt è kò: ńắn ky ńwǫl kị tệń gyẹ̄ńg, ńệgà ńệgǫ̀! Ḏwǫtị mal! Ka ḍāp ńị ḍwǫ̂tá mál, ka tệń gyẹ̄ng ńị wẹ́l fén. Tẹrǫ̀ bệnè á ḍwǫ̂tị mal, ka Bachet è dệńǫ̀. Ka rịt e ko: Bachet, yi re fa ḍwǫtị? E kudǫ. Kịne: Bachet, yi re fa ḍwǫ́tị? Ka Bachet ḍwǫta mal, ka tệń gyẹ̄ng bǫ̀gǫ̀n, mẹn dẹ́ń

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[1] *Ye* "he" has here rather the sense of "there was".

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kị fén. Ka Bachet chyẹ́ṇẹ́ ṭẹ̄ṇ̀ẹ̀, ká é ywọ̀ṅ, kịne: ọ́, ọ́, ọ̄! Ka rịẹ e fēchọ kịne! áṅọ̀, Bachet, ẹn a gwọ́kọ̀ yí kịndu? Bachet kịne: gyẹn ṅị ṅwọ̄lọ̀ gẹ́ kẹ̄tọ̀ gẹ́n, gẹ byṅ óṭwọ̄ṇ? fa ṅị ṅwọ̄l! Ká ọ̀ kọ̀: ará (ẹ̀rẹ́), yá fā óṭwọ̄ṇ? Ka rịẹ e fē yi ṅyẹ̄ṅ ọ̀, e ko: yi bọ̄ṭ, kẹṭ, dọ̄k fāri!

There was a man, a king, he had a slave whose name was Bachet. He liked him much. He built a village for Bachet at a separate place, where Bachet became chief. But the people of the village were dissatisfied with Bachet, and they came to the king to complain. Bachet was called by the king, and he came carrying thorns (such as are used in house-building). The king asked him, "What are you carrying there?" He answered, "My lord, I come to make a fence (for you)." The king replied, "Ah, my slave, you still think of building me a fence?" And the king became angry with the people and said, "You lie!" He let Bachet return, and he went to his village.

And (again) the people were beaten by their chief Bachet, and their property was taken by him. So they went again to complain of him. The king gave order to call him, saying, "Tell Bachet, he must not come on horseback, and he must not come on foot either." And Bachet came riding on horseback, but when he approached the village, he alighted from the horse; he left one foot on the horse, and one foot was on the earth. So he approached walking. The king asked, "What is that? why are you doing thus?" He answered, "Did not you give order, I must not come on horseback, nor on foot either? Therefore I left one foot on the horse, and am walking with the other." The king laughed saying, "You are a clever one! you shall not be killed, go, return to your village."

Bachet returned, but he went on in the same manner (troubling his people). The people came again complaining to the king. The king replied, "Bachet shall be killed this very day!" Then he said, "Go! every one of you bring a hen-egg, and then come back." So every one brought an egg. But this order of the king had not been told Bachet, and so he came without an egg. When they were all assembled, the king said, "Every one who does not lay an egg, shall surely die! Rise up!" So every one rose up, leaving his egg on the ground. All the people rose up, only Bachet remained seated. The king asked, "Bachet, why do you not rise up?" He was silent. Again he asked, "Bachet, why do you not rise?" Then Bachet arose, but there was no egg under him. Bachet stretched out his hands crying, "O o oh!" The king asked, "What is it, Bachet, that you are doing thus?" Bachet replied, "Do you think all these could have laid an egg by themselves, if there had not been a cock? Well, I am the cock!" The king almost died with laughing; he said, "You are a clever one, go, return to your village!"[1]

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[1] As the name of the hero shows, this story is of Arabic origin.

96. The Country Where Death is Not.

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Jal mękǫ mayę nut. Dę mayę ko, chamę bǫkǫ t̠ǫ, chama dwata fwǭṉe bụ t̠ǫ. Wǫdę ko: fwǭṉe byṅ t̠ǫ e yęṅ kun? Kịne: ę́, kǫl yan, nut! D̠āṉ ęni ba yū.

Ka gę kę̣d̠ǫ̀, fōṉ ęni lǫulǫulǫu, fwoṉe yey bụ t̠ǫ̀. Ka ṅį́ tǫṅa pach mēkǫ, ka ṅį kwachǫ pi, ka gę ṅį t̠ǫt̠e, ka ṅal ęni pę̂chǫ̀ kịne: t̠ǫ nut kị fōṉ? Kịne. ę̂, yi kǫla kęṅ, ęna fyęṅę t̠ǫ̀? Ka e ko: maya bǭkǫ t̠ǫ̀; maya dwata fōṉe bụ t̠ǫ. Kịne: ę̂, kęd̠un! Ka gę ṅi kęd̠ǫ, ka gę ṅį tǫṅá fān kęte, ka gę́ ṅį fę̄chǫ̀. Kịne: ę́, yina ṅate ṅǫ̀, ęna fyęṅ t̠ǫ? ę̂, kęd̠un; t̠ǫ nut. Ka kęt̠a fǒd̠ǫ̀ málǫ́ulǫ́u, ka e fęchǫ kịne: fōt̠e wun bęt adi? yeję da t̠ǫ? Kịne: ę̂, jē fá ṅį t̠ǫ̀u. Ka mayę chuṅę minǫ, e ko: dǭch, wǫ̂dà, yá kǫ̂l yi yín fōṉe fa ṅį t̠ǫu yeję.

Wǫ̂dę mēkǫ mǫ̂d̠ę̀, ka mayę kịt̠i gǫl ęni. Ka e ko: mâyà ànàn, wei bę̄dę kį́ yín; yá kęt̠i fōt̠e wǫ́n, ya ụ makị run gę ádę̀k, fanę kęṅ ụ bę̄ná bę lę̄t̠ę̀ wún kị maya. Mayę chuṅę mędǫ.

Ka ṅal ęni e dǭgǫ̀, dǭgǫ̀ fǒt̠è gę́n. Ka e bēdǫ fōt̠e gę́n.

Ka d̠āṉ ęni wiję kāgǫ; ká è kǒbǫ̀: mǭt̠ wǫ̂dà, wíjâ kāgǫ. Ka ṅal ęni d̠wod̠ǫ, ka e dwatǫ jē. Ka jē bęṅǫ, ka jē pēka péṅ, ka ṅal ęni ko: wú chwǫ̂lé yán kịfa maye mǭd̠a anan. Wu gwachǫ kị ṅyęṅ, mǫk ụ yôde wǫ̂dę, dę ko: wiję kāgǫ, dę riṅǫ ụ rēṅ; dę fana fa kịne: ụ ṅǫ̂l. Ka d̠āṉ ęní ywǫ̀ṅ, kịne: ę́, jwǫk bógǫ̀n, wija fa kāgǫ! Tērǫ ko: ę́, mâk, reję riṅǫ! Ka mâk, ka kǫ̂l, ka táyị féṅ, ka ṅǫ̂l, ka riṅo pǫ̂ṅị. Ka t̠ērǫ chāmǫ kị riṅǫ. D̠ụkị ka ṅyęṅ gwâch, ka ṅyęṅ kâṅ yi mǫd̠e wǫ̂dę.

Ka wǫ̂dę bęṅǫ, ko fēka feṅ, ka t̠ôt̠e gin cham, ká è chàmǫ̀. Ka e pę̂chǫ̀ kịne: maya agǫn ęn? Ka mǭd̠ę ko: mǫ̂d̠á, mayę mákè yi jwǫk, wǫ́ gwǎjǫ̀ ṅyęṅ, dę ṅyęṅ ak; dę ṅǫ̂l kịfa riṅǫ ụ rēṅ; dę wǫn, t̠ǫ bogǫn kị fǒt̠è wǫ́n, d̠āṉ kęṅ a mâk yi jwǫk ṅį chaka ṅālǫ. Ṅal ęni ko kịne: búh! ya ṅeau māya!? eko: yǎ bę̄dǫ̀; ko: ya ụ kęt̠ yàu! Ṅal ęni ko: yí gǒt̠ǫ̀. Ṅal ęni ko: ę́, ya fa gǒtį. Ka t̠ērǫ bęṅǫ, kama cham kị ṅal ęni; ka lwǫ̂k kị yi mǫd̠ę. Ka gę kęt̠a kun malǫulǫu, kịfa ụ (ǫ̂) châm. Ka t̠ērǫ wịt̠é mûm,[1] kịne: ę kęt̠i kęṅ? Ka mǫd̠ę eduggǫ; ka e ko: kęt̠, yi ụ cham t̠yau nami mayi. Ka ṅal ęni bia fōt̠e gę́n, ka e kōbị kị pach kịne: màyá a châm yì ṅù.

Chōt̠i, ká t̠ērǫ̀ e ko: mayi fa ṅa-d̠ái ǫ̀rǫ̀k. T̠ǫ fa nût kị yey féṅ bęṅe? dǎ kun tǫ́k yi t̠ǫ?

There was a man with his mother. The mother was much afraid of dying, therefore she wished to go into a country where there is no death. The son said, "Where is a country without death?" She answered, "Well, there is such a country, bring me there!" The woman was very old.

So they travelled into a very, very distant country, to (reach) the country where there is no death. They turned into a village and asked for water. When it was given them, the son asked, "Is there death in this country?" The people answered, "Dear me, where do you come from that you ask such a question concerning death?“ He answered, "My mother is afraid of dying, so she wants a country where death is not.“ The people said, "Why, go away!“ They went and turned to another village. There they asked again and received the answer, "Why, what kind of man are you that you ask about dying? Go away! There is death here.“ Then they went to a very distant country and asked, "How is your country, is there death in it?“ The answer was, "No, people do not die here.“ The mother was very glad, she said, "Well done, my son, you have brought me to a country where there is no death.“

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[1] the people, (their) heads were perplexed.

Her son had a friend in that town, and to his home he brought his mother. He said, "Here is my mother, let her live with you. I shall go to our country, and after three years I shall return to see you and my mother.“ His mother was satisfied.

So the boy returned to his native country and stayed there for some time.

But his mother became sick; she got a head-ache; she said, "Friend of my son, I have a headache.“ On that the boy arose and called the people together. The people came and sat down. The boy said, "I have called you because of the mother of my friend, who is here. Now collect money, that we may give it to her son (when he returns). For she says her head is aching; and because of that (because of her sickness) her meat (flesh) will spoil. For that reason,“ he said, "she must be killed (at once).“ When the woman heard this, she began crying, "I am not sick! I have no head-ache!“ But the people said, "Never mind, seize her, or her flesh will be spoiled.“ So she was caught, brought, thrown on the ground and killed; her flesh was divided among the people, and they ate it. The next day they collected money and brought it to the friend of her son.

And her son came back. He sat down, they gave him food, and he ate. He asked, "Where is my mother?“ His friend answered, "My friend, our (your) mother was seized with sickness, so we collected money, — here is the money! — and killed her, lest her meat should be spoiled. For as for us, we do not die in our country, if a man is seized with sickness, we kill him.“ The boy replied, "Why, should I sell my mother? Never!“ Then he said, "I will but go.“ His friend said, "You are angry?“ He replied, "No, I am not angry.“ In the meantime the people came and wanted to eat the boy too. His friend therefore went to him saying, "Go, or you also will be eaten like your mother.“ He accompanied him into a distant country. When the boy came home, he said to his people, "My mother has been eaten by a lion.“

That is all; and the people said, "Your mother was a sinful woman. Is not death in all the world, and should there be a place where there is no death?“

97. The King and the People.

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Jal mękǫ bǎ riţ; kôp tęrǫ̀: gęr wǫt! Ká wǫt ńį gęr, kǎ yè ko: gęr kàl! Ká yè ko: fùr fwóḑǫ́! Ká fwóḑǫ́ ńį fûr, ká byęl ńį chęgǫ̀. Ká gę́ ńį kâch. Ká ę̂ kò kįne: kįţí wí pǎm (pęm)! Ká ńį kò: mwǫn ràrǫ̀! Ka ye kō ne: fwòt byęl! Kǎ yè kò: chwǎch ókǫ̂ḑǫ̀! Ka dwai nǫ̂ţ. Ká yè kò: chwách ţágǫ̀! Kǎ ké chāṅ kįnáù.

Ká wàṅ àkyęlǫ̀ chàmá dwāta fwoḑǫ kį mâl. Kǎ tęrǫ̀ é kęḑǫ̀ bę yáf kį yǫ, męn kęţe mâl. Ká tęrǫ̀ kámá dúǫ̀k pach: yǫ̌ bógǫ̀n. Kǎ ḑâņ mǎyû yôt, ka ḑâņ ęni é fęchǫ̀: wû kęḑu kun? Gę kò: fáţé riţ yè kō, chàmá dwátá fwǒḑǫ́ kį mâl? Dę́ yǒ bógǫ̀n. Kǎ ḑīņ dúǫ́ṅ è kò: wá! wú fǎ ḑęk! yǒ nút kį mǎl mo-chāṅe. Tįṅú ţàkǎgì māl, ka kōţ lęṅù mâl bāṅę! O ţúmé gęn, ká gę́ kęţ gęn fàch.

Ká gé pyěch yį riţ kįne: fwǒḑé á yôt? Ṅę̌, á yôt. Dę a kęk? Kįne: ṅę̌, a kęk. Ḏųkį ka tęrǫ kęḑǫ́ bę fùr. Ka ḑâņ dúǫ́ṅ kǎ yôt, kǎ fyêch: wǫ́ fúr wǫn kįdī? Furu mâl yàu! Ka tęrǫ̀ ńį fùrǫ̀ māl yau. A dúǫ̀k gęn, a fěchí riţ, è kò: á rûm kį fūrǫ̀? Kįne: àwǫ́! Kęḑe kàchú byęl! Kǎ námí dùwà.

Ka riţ ye ko: ḑúkį ya kǎ (= kęḑǫ) bē kèmǫ́ kį fwǒḑǫ́. Kǎ tęrǫ̀ é bǫ̀kǫ̀. Kįne: fwǒḑǫ́ ágǫ̀n ęn? Wǎ jàt kį yǒ męn kęţ wǫn mâl. Wú chàkà fyęt. Wú rè fà kōbùn: fwǒḑǫ́ bógǫ̀n?

A man was king; he said to his people, "Build a house!“ And a house was built. And he said, "Make a fence!“ Then he said, "Hoe a field!“ A field was hoed, (dura was sown and) the dura ripened. They harvested the dura. Then he said, "Lay it on the drying-ground!“ He said again, "Make a treshing-place!“ After that, "Thresh the dura!“ He ordered, "Make a corn-basket!“ So pegs were cut for fastening the corn-basket. He said, "Make a cover (for the basket)!“ And so (he troubled his people) every day.

One year he wanted to make a field up in the air. And the people went to look for a way which led up into the air. At last they turned back, there was no way. Then there was an old woman, she asked them, "Where are you going?“ They answered, "Did not the king say he wanted a field up in the air? But there is no way!“ The old woman said, "Dear me! how stupid you are! There has been since early days a way up into the air. Lift up your dura-stick, and throw up seeds after it!“ (They did so). When they had done so, they went home. And they were asked by the king, "Have you found a field?“ They answered, "Yes, it has been found.“ He asked. "Is it planted?“ They said, "Yes, it is planted.“ The next day they went to hoe. They found the old woman and asked her, "How shall we hoe the field?“ She answered, "You just hoe up into the air!“ So the people just hoed up into the air. When they returned, the king asked them, "Have you finished with hoeing?“ They answered, "Yes.“ Then he said, "Go and harvest the dura.“ And so on as on former days (so he always found some new idea how to trouble the people).

And the king said, "To-morrow I shall go to look at the field." The people were afraid. He asked, "Where is the field?" They answered, "We could not find the way which leads up into the air." The king said, "You have been telling lies! Why did you not say, 'there is no way?'" 539*

98. Wealth cannot be imitated.

Wi jáṅ mę̄kǫ chwǫ̀lá Ayǫ̂mǫ̀, bę̄da jal kẹr, wâdę̀ chwǫ̀lá Awan; mā́rę ęn; ka wątę pyau kį ǭrè pyar abíkyę̀l; kat wąt mǭkǫ ka pyar áṅwę̀n; ka gę kǭl, ka wąde ṅǭk ka gę kǭl; ka wąt pyau, ka wąn akyęl chwǫp, chįkį chwǫpǫ, ka gę chǭp bę̄n, ká gę́ rúmǫ̀, ka ḍǫk gǫ́ṅ, mǫk kę̄l bę ṅwǫm, ka pyar abídę̀k. Ka jal de ṅārę é chwǫ́ù; kįne: bę́h, ga ḍǭ ṅǫ̂, a kōle yáu gę gīr nàu? O lǫk ṅāra y̨ ţǫ́wǫ̀, y̨ lįṅe ṅāra kį́ kûn, ka ye kįne: kįpaṅǫ a ṅwǫmį kį ḍǫk gīr? Ko: ę̀, yâ bę̄dǫ̀. dwǭgun ḍǭ¹ wúṅ!

Ka ṅal ęni kyędǫ, kįne: ḍǫk ba dwǫk! Ka jal ęni e yeyǫ, ka kę̄ţį kę̄lé ḍǫ̂k, ka kwaṅa pyar áṅwę̀n, ka ḍǫk bę̄n dwǫk. Ka wąt nę̂k, ga pyar ádę̀k, mǫk cham yį ţęrǫ. Ka ṅān ęni ká wékè, ka gę bę̄n kį́ gǫ̀n. Jal ęni ko: ṅā́rà bá dǫ́ṅ; ka ṅwǫm e ţumǫ, a bę̄ne pǫ̀ţè gęn.

A ṅǫ́yí yį jāṅe mę̄kǫ, chamę́ lūṅǫ, chamę́ pyauwe, chamǫ ṅǫye wąt Ayǭmǫ. Kâ ǫ̀jâdǫ̀ kį wąţ mǫṅ nę̂k, ka wįję mūm yį nǫke ḍǫk. Ka wāṅe yį dyęk. Ka Ayǭmǫ ṅę̄ţǫ, kįne: hǫ hǫ, chama ṅǭyǫ wǫda chǫn! ya ba dugṅ! ya fąţe jal kẹr? Dę a ṅan pẹr wįţe wǫn? Ya ba gįta kun, ko kǫ́mà ṅiṅâ, bāda ba bąr! dę yi re jât anan? Kẹr ṅį ṅǫyę róù; kāka ba dugṅ. Fąţe ḍǫk ochāni?

There was a rich Dinka-man whose name was *Ayǫmǫ;* his son's name was Awan. He loved his son and pierced the horns of sixteen of his cows and stuck tail-hairs into the holes.[2] Again he brought fourteen more oxen, and rams he brought, and he put hairs through the horns of these oxen too. One ox he speared, again he speared another one, and when he had finished spearing them all (those which he had set apart for being speared), he loosened the cattle which were to be given as dowry; they were eighteen. When the man for whose daughter these cows were to be given, heard the cows mowing, he exclaimed, "Oh dear, what do all these cattle mean which are being driven to me? Why are they so many? If my daughter (should marry the son of this man, and after that she) should die, the name of my daughter would be heard all over the country,[3] and the people will say, 'why was she married for so many cattle?' No, I don't consent; go home with your cattle!" But the boy (Awan, who wanted to marry the girl) said, "No, the cattle will not be returned." So at last the man consented. He went among the cattle and selected fourteen; the rest were sent

Remarks see on page 233.

*539 back. Then the thirteen oxen were killed as a feast for the people. And the girl was given to him, they came with her, her father said, "My daughter shall not stay with me any longer (because the dowry has been paid)." When the marriage-festival was finished, they returned to their country.

Now this man was imitated by a certain chief, who wanted to do the same thing; he too wanted to pierce the horns of his cattle, and wanted to imitate the son of *Ayǫmǫ*. But he lacked sufficient cows to kill, and he got into straits, because his cows were so few. He took goats instead of the cows, and when *Ayǫmǫ* saw that, he laughed, "Hǫ hǫ, he really wanted to imitate my son! I am great! Am I not a rich man? Is there any one so rich as to attain to us? My fame has spread everywhere, all people know my name; my arm is long! Why do you try such a thing, being short of cattle? Wealth can never be imitated; it is not a thing of one day. I have been raising my cattle since a long time ago."

99. Increase of Cattle.

Jal mę̄kǫ bę̄da jal kęr, bę̄da kway Jǫ́ǹǫ̀, wą̄tę gi̊r, kākę ba châkí, ńį chaka tińe mal, ka e yǭ, ka e rūmǫ jāgǫ, ka wą̄tę chwǫlę, ka e ko: ų ţǫ́wá, ya kų́ kǒńè pach. Tę̄ré yán, tęre ya kâl ḓǫk, ka ya kwōńe yeję, ų ḓǫk ńį ńwǫlę.

A ţǫwę, a tę̄rį kal ḓǫk, a kwōńe yeję, ka ḓǫk ńį́ ńwǭlǫ, a chôk pān ęni, a pa kęr, Odwojǫ.

A certain man was very rich, he was a descendant of the Dinkas; he had many sons. His time was not near (that is, he was very old); he was so old, that he was carried (he could not walk any longer). Because he was so old, he gave up his chieftainship, he called his sons and told them, "If I die, do not bury me in the village; carry me, carry me to the cattle place and bury me in the midst of it, so the cow will bring forth many calves."

When he had died, he was carried to the cattle fence and was buried in the midst of it, and the cattle brought forth many calves. This village always remained a rich village, it is *Odwojǫ*.

100. The Haughty Prince.

Kwakadwai bę̄da jal kęr, ka e kęḓǫ, ka e ńǭmǫ, e ńǭmǫ ńań rįţ. Ka ḓǫk kǭl, ga pyār abíkyę̀l. Ka chįkį ńǭmǫ kį pyār abíkyę̀l.

Ka ńį kǭţǫ Tǫ̀r, ka lūm ńį ţùmǫ̀, ka kǭţǫ Dǫ́r. Ká ḓǫ̀k è yáńǫ̀. Ka ńa rįţ e wę̄lǫ, wę̄la yię, ka gę ryęję, ka alęţǫ bę̄n, kį́ châk, kį kwǫn mau, kį rīńǫ. Ka ńa rįţ mę̄kǫ kyęḓǫ: ya ba dwata gik ak! Kįfańǫ? A bę̄t Ochôlǫ̀, kę́rę gi̊r, ka e kwǫngǫ.

Kẹn̂ mǭla kal mọl, ka ṅarǭjọ ṅi nệk, gọ ṅi chấm. Ka e ko: wọte ḏāṉ, nẹku ḏāṉ, kị ria ụ chȣ̂la! Ka wǭde é nẹ̀kọ̀, ka gọ chōlẹ. 539*

Kwakadwai was a rich man. He started to marry, and he married the daughther of a king. He brought sixty cows as a dowry. He married a second wife for sixty cows.

He used to drive his cattle to *Tǭr* (a place of pasture), and when the grass was finished there, he drove them to *Dọr* (another pasture).

One day some princes were travelling, and they came to him. He entertained them as his guests; dura and dried meat were brought, and milk, and bread baked in butter, and meat. But one of the princes refused, "I don't want these things!" "Why not?" (asked the people). "Because he is a (mere) Shilluk (not one belonging to the royal family), and yet he is so rich!" He did not touch the food.

This (rich) man, when he went to his cattle place early (every) morning, he used to kill a calf and to eat it. And he said to his people, "Sons of men, kill a man! I myself will make amends for him!"[4] And they killed a man, and he made amends.

101. The Hyena with the Bell.

Ka jal mẹ̄kọ ṅa rịṯ, chwọla Lwal Pōlkóe, ka dyẹkẹ chấm yị ótwǭṉ. Ka burọ kwǭńẹ́, ka oṯwọṉ mâk yey bur. Ka Lwal bẹ̄ṅọ, ka oṯwọṉ kyẹdọ, ko: wei, kụ nệk. Ka wei, ka yẹḏe gọn kịṯị mālo, ka oṯwọṉ e kẹḏọ kị mālọ yẹḏẹ. Chamị ṅị maka lọi, ka lọi ṅị rẹṅọ, ka kōrẹ būḏọ yi kẹch, ka e ṯǭ.

There was a certain man, a prince, whose name was *Lwal Pōlkoe;* his goats were being eaten by the hyena. Therefore he dug a hole and caught the hyena in the hole. When Lwal came, the hyena begged him, "Leave me, do not kill me!" So he let her go, but he tied a bell to her neck, and the hyena went away with the bell about her neck. But now whenever she wanted to catch game, the game (heard the bell ringing, and) ran away. At last the hyena became tired with hunger and died.

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[1] *ḏọk.*

[2] A sign that these cows were to be reserved as dowry for buying his son a wife.

[3] If the wife dies, the dowry paid for her has to be returned by her family; in this particular case it would be difficult for the father of the girl to give back so many cows, as some would die or perish in some other way in the meantime, and so the affair would turn out a shame to the father and the girl.

[4] to show his immense wealth; it was a bagatelle for him to pay a slave.

[583]

XIV. REPORT ON A HUNTING MATCH, AND A JOURNEY.

102. Elephant Hunting.

* 539 *Wá kẹ̄ṭ kị́ àkīm kị wạte chōl gẹ́n àbí-dẹ̀k, wạ̄te bwoń gẹ́n áryạ̀u kị Abaṭ kị́ obwoń yẹi, ká wá kẹ̄ṭá pōṭe Nuạr, lûm gīr, ka wa kẹ̄ṭá wọk, Abaṭ ye dō̤ṅọ nam kị obwoń yẹi; ká lyech ywótị̀ wọ́n, gẹ́n ádẹ̀k; ka wọ pẹ̄ka péń, ka yā ṭōṭe kị toch, ka Akwọkwan ṭōṭe yị toch, ka Ńań ṭōṭe toch, ka toch (twoch) akīm mákè lûm, ka toch mwō̤jọ; kâ lyech é rẹ́ṅọ̀, ká wọ́ dúọ̀gọ̀, lyey bógọ̀n. Ḏụkị ka wọ dō̤gọ; ka lyech ywótè wọ́n; ka wọ́ rịṅọ, lyech fīdè wọ́n; ka yōtè wọ́n, ẹ́ mạ̄ḏọ̀ pí mẹn an lūm bọgọn. Ká wá kẹṭa yi lyech, wạte bwóń ádẹ̀k, wọ́nẹ̀*[1] *chọ́l wọ́n ádẹ̀k, kâ wọ́ kẹ̄ḏọ̀, ka Akwọ́kwán é pạ́ṅọ̀, ka Aryań ká é pạṅọ, wọ́ dō̤ṅọ̀ wọ́n áńwẹ̀n; yán kị akīm kị wạte bwoń ryẹṭ, ká wọ́ kẹṭị yị lyech e shâkị́ shâkị, kạ akim e kò: wá gō̤chà lyech ákyẹ̀l, ka wọ gọ̀chọ̀, ka lyech é rẹ́ṅọ̀, ka yán rẹṅa bâṅẹ, lyech wọ́n kámá ṭō̤, ka yá kẹḏọ, ya rīṅọ, ka gō̤chè yán tyẹl ádẹ̀k,*[2] *wọ́ kẹḏọ kẹ́ń, wọ́ kẹṭa kẹle ṭim, ka lyech e chụ̀ṅọ̀, yá bì, yá nẹ̀n, yá nẹ̀n, yẹn gīr, ka lēṭè yán, ká yá lēṭè ẹ́n, ká gō̤já kị mach. Lyech é ywọ̀ṅ, ka lyech e bẹ̄n, é rīṅọ, ka ya chyệte ẹ́n, ka tyẹlá nẹ́kè yáṭ, é kúché yán, fa rậmọ̀. Ka lyech é chụ̀ṅọ̀, cha (== chama) yá gō̤chè ẹ́n, ka é rẹṅọ, ká wọ́ kẹṭị́ kị́ ẹ́n, ka yá mák yi rō̤ḏọ́, ká yá duọggọ, lyech á kệṭ, ya duọggọ, ya chāṭọ; rẹmọ gīr, dẹ yọ̌ kúchè yán, ká yá kō̤lá yị yu lyech, yá wań kị́ gẹ́n, láù bógọ̀n kị́ ḏọga, pi bọgọn, ka ya pẹ̄ka ṭa yaṭ, lūm gīr; ka yá bwọ́gọ́, ka yá ḏwọḏọ, ka toch gọ́ch yị akīm, ka toch lị́ṅè yán lạ́u lạ́u lạ́u, yá kẹḏọ, ya rīṅọ, ka toch ńị gọ́ch gẹ́ gīr. Ka ya bẹ̄ṅọ̀, ka toch gọ́chè yán, ká toch lị̄ń yì gẹ́n. Chuńe gẹ́ mẹ̄ḏọ, chuńa ṭyau mẹ̄ḏọ; ká yâ bẹ̄n, ká gẹ́ yōtè yán, gẹ́ gọ̀ch ańwak, ká yà ṭōṭe yị pī; rō̤ḏọ̀ bańị ṭūm, ka ya ṭoṭe yị mọgọ (gin cham), ká chwàkí é báṅọ̀; ka ya kẹṭa nam, ka ya budọ kị yejẹ. Ká yá mákè yi kọ̀jọ̀, yá bẹ̄t kị dọ̄ch kị nam; ka ya ńị mạ̄ḏọ kị pī; ka yá bíà wọ̀k, ká wọ́ bẹ̄n wọ́ bíà gạt. Ka wọ́ bẹ̄ḏọ ḏụkị, ka wọ bẹ̄n wọ́ bíẹ̀ fōṭe chọ́l, wọ́ màk jẹm áryàu, wọ bệṅọ̀, gin cham bọgọn, wọ́ ńị chámà rịṅọ ẹ kẹ̄ṭẹ, ka wọ bia Atâ̤rọ̀, ká tàń yōtẹ̀ wọ́n gẹ́ gīr. Ká wọ́ kẹṭá wọ́k, ká tàń pwót, ábí-dẹ̀k, mẹ̄k a gō̤chè yị akīm, gō̤tjè wiy tụṅẹ, ká è ṭō̤. Ka yẹ́ì é pậṅọ̀ yị ríṅọ́, ka wọ bẹ̄n.*

We went (by boat), the doctor, eight Shilluks, two white men, Abbas, and the white men of the steamer. We went into the Nuer country, there was much grass along the river. When we left the boat, Abbas remained near the river with the white men of the steamer. We found three elephants, when we saw them, we sat down on the ground, they gave me a gun, ***Akwọkwan*** **and** ***Nyań*** **too received a gun. The gun of the doctor was entangled in the grass, and**

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[1] more frequently wọnọ, see Grammar.

[2] "three feet", that is: three times.

it suddenly exploded. When the elephant heard it, it ran away; we returned because the elephant was no more (i. e. the elephants disappeared). The next morning we went again and found again an elephant. We ran pursuing the elephant. We found it drinking water in a place where there was no grass. We went towards the elephant. We were three white men and three Shilluks. While we were going, *Akwǫkwan* and *Anyaṅ* stooped down (i e. hid, being afraid); so we four were left, I, the doctor, and the other two white men. We went to the elephant and approached it closely, then the doctor said, "We have got one elephant!" We shot, the elephant ran away, and I followed it; our elephant had received a mortal wound. I followed it running and shot it three times. We ran into a place where there was a forest; there the elephant stopped, I came and looked and looked, there were dense trees; at last I saw it, and it saw me, and I shot it with the gun. The elephant cried, it came running, and I was chased by it, I knocked my foot against a tree, but I did not heed it, it did not make a wound. The elephant stopped and I intended to shoot it. It ran again, I ran with it; and I was seized with thirst; I turned back, the elephant ran away, I turned back and went; there was much blood. But I did not know the way. I went along the elephant's path, I was quite lost to my companions; there was no more spittle in my mouth (from thirst), I had no water. I sat down under a tree in the midst of much grass. I became afraid and arose. Then there was a gun fired by the doctor, I heard it very, very far off. I went running and heard them fire many guns. At last I too fired a gun, it was heard by them. Then they rejoiced, and I too rejoiced, and I came and found them, they had shot an anwak; they gave me water. My thirst would not cease, and they gave me food, but my throat refused to take it. I went into the river and lay down in the water. So I became cool, I lay in the water a long time. Then I drank water. At last I came out. And we came to the river-side. We stayed there till the next day, then we came back into the Shilluk country. We had been away two weeks. During our return we found no food, so we ate nothing but meat. We came to the river Ataro, there we found many waterbucks. We went out of the boat and shot eight waterbucks. One was shot by the doctor between its horns, and it died. The boat was quite full of meat; so we came home.

103. A Journey.

Ka wǫ́ wę̄lǫ̀, wę̄lǫ Tūṅǫ, ka wǫ ka pōṭe Nugr, ka wǫ kę̄lè yi nam mē̦kǫ, chwǫla Ńeygrǫ, ka wǫ ka Teryau, ka wǫ tǭṅa wok, ka wǫ budǫ rech, ka wǫ kę̄dǫ, ka wǫ tǭṅa kal riṭ, chwǫla Pèḏǒ, ka wǫ tǭṅa lwāgę, ka e pę̄chǫ̀ kine: wǫte Chǫ́lǫ̀, wu kǭl

*539 *wu kẹńi? wọ́ kò: wa kọla fōṯẹ Chọ́lọ̀! Kịne: wich apọńọ? Kịne: wa chaka ńeau wọ byẹ́l. Kịne: bụ́h, a ṯọ̄ wun yị kẹch? E ko: kẹṯu lwak! Ka wọ kẹṯa lwak, ka ońwọk kậl, ka nệk, ká châm yị wọ́n; ka chak kậl, ka wọ chàmọ̀, ka ńyẹ́i a kạle wọn, ńeau kị byẹl. Ka wọ bẹ̄nọ, ka kẹṯi yi yạ̄ṯ, ka wọ bẹ̄nọ, ka yẹi mákè yì pàr, ka yẹi mudọ, ka wọ kwāńọ wọk; a bệnà, a ṯọ̄ńa Ńebộdọ̀, a bẹ̱na pach, a bẹ̱na Peńidwai; kẹ̀ch kệch!*

We travelled to *Tonga* and from there came into the Nuer-country; we were travelling on some river, whose name is *Ńeyẹrọ*. We came to Teryau, there we landed; we roasted fish. We went and turned to the home of the king, whose name was *Pẹdō*. We turned towards the cow-house. He asked us, "You Shilluk children, where do you come from?" We answered, "We come from the Shilluk-country." He asked, "What for?" We replied, "We want to buy dura." He said, "Why, are you suffering ("dying") from hunger?" Then he said, [574] "Go into the cow-house!"[1] So we went into the cow-house. A ram was brought and killed, and was eaten by us; and milk was brought, and we ate. Then we brought forth money to buy dura. (After we had bought it and brought it into our boats) we went into the boats and returned home. But one boat was seized by a hippo, it sank, and we swam to the bank. So I came home turning towards *Ńebọ̄dọ*, I came home to *Peńidwai*; the famine was very great.

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[1] the cow house serves as a residence for guests.

XV. SONGS.

104. War songs.

A chịp tuṅ lẹ̄ṅ, leṅ a chịp shin Aṅọ̄ṅọ; Bal kẹ̄chọ! Yana bāṅ Ṅikaṅ; chẹ ya dọ́ṅ á bẹ̄r; kōfá yín kị mọk jwọk; rịṭ e kạ̄l jwọk. Wora ḍwọ̀ṇ kwom lẹ́ṅ! Yana bāṅ Ṅikaṅ! Leṅ a chịp shine kwọ̄yẹ́, kị Otẹ̄gọ tuṅ leṅ Ṅàbọ̀dọ̀. Ṅikaṅ a yậṭị, kuro gọ̄k Jaṅ. 539* 533 721

The wings of the army are drawn up; the army is placed in the hands of *Aṅọ̄ṅọ*. Bal is strong. I am a servant of *Ṅikaṅ*, I was nearly left desolate. I tell you the tidings of God; the king comes with God. The kings arose against the enemy's army. I am a servant of *Ṅikaṅ*. The army is placed in the hands of our grandfather, in *Otẹ̄gọ*, as far as *Ṅabọ̄dọ* war is raging.

Fāri ụ laki mẹn, ṅa Ṅikaṅ? fāri ụ gẹ́r kị ṭọ́ṅ!

Who shall inherit your village, you son of *Ṅikaṅ*? Your village will be built by spears!

Wei yiẹ̀gẹ̀ yiẹ̄gọ̀! Fa Ṅikaṅ fa ṅị ṭùmí, lwậgá á kyẹ̀t, kị Wụrokwar á kyẹ̄t; lwậgá fa tūgọ! akyẹl a dọ̄ṅọ̀, ka lọ̄kọ bạ́ṅ gẹ́n, Areoṅịdịṅ, fa wậtẹ̀ Gẹṅjwọ̀k, fa wậtẹ̀ Àbōl! wei yiẹgẹ yiẹ̄gọ, fa Ṅikaṅ fa ṅị ṭùmí.

Let them carry (people) away! The house of *Ṅikaṅ* will never be finished, my people refuse (to surrender), *Wụrokwar* refuses; my people are not to be played with! One will always be left; and he will follow them (the enemies), *Areoṅịdịṅ*, from the village of the children of *Gẹṅjwọk*, the village of the children of *Abōl*. Let them carry away, the house of *Ṅikaṅ* will never be finished.

Agọ̀gjáṅ Anọ̄ṅ-wán, wọ teau áṭérûk. A waṇị, a waṇị yọ, dẹ kạ̄lá Fịjọ̀. Màchẹ̀ rẹ́ fa dọ̄gé rẹ́, mache rẹ́ fa dọ̄gé rẹ. Akōlẹ́-Ṅákwẹ̀, a kạ̄l jwọ̀k. Machẹ yọ fa dọ̄ge rẹ.

Agogjang Anongwan is cursing the Turks, they are coming near, they are approaching on the way, they come up the mouth of the Sobat. But the fire of their guns will return on themselves, their fire will return on themselves; Akole Nyakwe he comes (against them) with God. Their fire will return on themselves.

Yá fịt lyà fọ̀, ya fịt lya féá, Ṅikaṅ, ya fịt lya fọ, ya fịt lya fọ, jal duọṅ, ya fịt lya fọ.

I am tired of being waylaid, I am tired of being watched upon, *Ṅikaṅ*, I am tired of being waylaid, my master, I am tired of being waylaid.

*539 *Kā dé byn Ágwẹ̄t, wọt Jō̱k, ya re (de) lọ̄nị yinọ, yá yiẹ̄lè Kẹ̄ch Alál, yá yiẹ̄le yi kwāyọ, kẹch Alal, wúrú Wột.*

533 But for *Agwẹt*, the son of *Jō̱k*, I should have left my country, and gone far
721 away; I have been saved by the strength of Alal, I have been saved by our grandfather, the powerful Alal, the son of *Wọt*.

Ńā Dâk, yi kwacha ṅọ? Ya kwacha ṅẹ̄dọ̀! Chẹ ya kẹṯi kun, fura yán. Ya yiẹ̄lè yi kwọ̄ Ayâdọ̀. Waṅō̱ Ńa Dāk gẹ̄rọ pach kị́ tŭk, ówâu fa lẹ́ṅ mẹ̄kọ.

You son of *Dāk*, what do you ask for? I ask for a hoe, for wherever I go I hoe the ground. I have been preserved by our grandfather *Ayādọ*. The mother of the son of *Dāk* has built us a house under the deleb palms; the branches of the deleb are like an army.[1]

Mọ́ké byẹl Ńakāyọ, ya chậṯí, ya yâṅọ̀. mọke byẹl Abuk, man Dẹi, ya chậṯị́ yá yâṅọ̀.

By the dura-beer of *Ńakāyọ* I walk, I am filled with it, by the beer of Abuk, the mother of *Dẹi*, I am walking, I am filled with it.

Akōl a duọk mal; yá nẹ̄na rẹ̀. Kị nẹ̄ni gwach, rūme yẹ́jà ṅẹ̄ṅọ̀. Dāk a shwọu, shwọu obwoṅ Dō̱rọ̀.

Akōl has returned. I live through him free from oppressors. The anxieties of my heart were many. But *Dāk* roared, he roared the white people away to *Dō̱rọ*.

Mẹnọ kị gyẹ̄nẹ̀, mẹnọ kị́ gyẹ̀nẹ̀, gyẹ̄ne Dâk yọ̀, mẹnọ kị gyẹ̄nẹ . . . .

Each one has his own fowl, each one has his own fowl, but all fowl belong to *Dāk*.

Ya rọyi rọi! ẹnẹ gin āṅọ? bwoṅọ! Tẹ̄rọ ywọgọ mal. byẹl a kệl yi obwoṅ. Kwayẹ fa tộk, ṅa Dāk a kạl jwọk. Ńá gộl kwaṅé kôt ún, wa kẹla wiy tuṅ! Obwoṅ chama yákà yán. Tẹ̄rọ bện nậtí yậk ẹ̀n. Ńan a tọ́ṅ yáṅ? Yan a rạ̄ṯ lābọ. Shàgẹ́, dọk lwāgi, yi ẹ ṅâké kị ṅan mẹ̄kọ̀.

I am fleeing away, shouting loud! What is the matter? "The white people!" the people are shouting loud. "The dura is being carried away by the white people!" — But our grandfather is not absent. The son of *Dāk* is coming with God. Ye people, take your shields! We will go this way! The white people want to take away all our property. Other people have not been robbed by them! Who ever dared to take away my goods? I, the king of the people! Ye Arabs, turn back your hosts, fight another tribe!

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[1] The rustling of the leaves of the deleib palm is like the rustling of an army; so that when the enemy approaches the village, they imagine they hear an army, and flee.

105. Mourning songs, and others.

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Abâ ńa Ńikań, Amyẹle wâ tọ́k. Fà nẹ̄ná ya dǭńọ̀ twàlọ̀. Lwǫn fan ọ́ṭû, fà jáń wọ́n. Amyẹle lwǫń, wǭt Kwájèriù, dẹ kâl, dǫń é twàlọ̀, fay dǫń é twàlọ̀, fay dǫń e yūrọ̀. Agûmwēl fanẹ jāgọ.

Aba, the son of *Ńikań*, my father *Amyẹle*, is no more. Look at me, I am left poor. *Lwǫń* is away, he, our chief, *Amyẹl Lwǫń*, the son of Kwajeriu. Our family is left destitute, our village is left destitute, our home is left reproached. *Agumwēl*, he was a great chief.

Afyẹk wat Deń, liawǫ́ tǫ̀r. Aryal-bẹ̄k gǫń ḍeań, ụ kwaya Ajwǫt-ńịmịń.

Afyek, the son of *Deń*, is waylaying in the grassy place. Aryalbek loosens a cow and gives it to *Ajwǫt-ńịmịń*, to herd (= to possess) it.[1]

Ayidǭke, wǫt Ryal-dwẹ̄t Wun-diãrò, Ayìkǫ́, Wúnè-gẽń-bẹ̄l, ya wań kị yŭ kun a kǭl ẹ́n.

Ryalawet *Wundiãro*, Ayiko, Wunegenbel Ayidoke, I lost the way in which he went.

Akwǫ̀néyǫ̆r, yina máń júr, de ya dǭń bẹ̄r! Jińbẹ̄k, Akwǫneyǫr, kwārẹ fa ṭẹwa pǫl. Gẹ kị rache weya dǫń á bẹ̄r. Akwǫt a lẹ̄ńọ fǫl; ya yafa jāgọ Duńkǭk, ya yafa Okwoni, Ajāl-ńeban gwań, Ńámâilǫ̀i.

Akwoneyor, you captured people, but I was left poor! Jingbek, Akwoneyor. their grandchildren are dying in the wilderness. They live in misery, are left destitute. *Akwǫt* threw me out into the bush. I am searching for chief Dunkok, I am searching for *Okwoni, Ajalnyaban-gwań, Nyamailai.*

Akwǫneyǫr, yi kịṭa kǫń kị lwāgi? Akwǭtọ nǭtí jālọ̀. Olām-bǫń a gẹ̄l chōr. Olam ńa Ńikań, Dulgi wǫt Kēr, Kwālgi a gẹ̄l chōr. Ńa Ńikań kị mayi Bẹ̄k.

Akwoneyor, where have you brought people? *Akwǭtọ* has never been cursed by his subjects,[2] *Olām-bǫń* is a preserver of men in the famine. Olam, son of Nyikang, Dulai, son of Ker is a preserver of people in hunger, a son of *Ńikań* and of his mother *Bẹ̄k*.

Agwǭt-ńaneḍoń, feń a fȗṭ chyẹ̄, lwak a rẹń, Agwǭt ńa Ńikań! Dẹ ywǫgọ mal lǫbọ táńẹ chíńẹ.

Agwetnyanedong, the country is starved, the people are dying. Agwet, son of Nyikang, they are mourning, stretching up their hands.

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[1] A song of cattle stealing.

[2] has always been loved.

*539 *Adǫl-tuń, yi kęta kęá? Nugr a wapi, ya kęta fāné láńà jwǫk, Awen, ńa Yǫr.*
"Adoltung, where are you going?" "The Nuers are approaching, I am going
533 to the town of God, oh Awen, son of Yor."

Akol Dāk ńa Ńikań, Kaye-Ḏūrǫ, Akolųku, Akol-Kwālai, ńa Ogāk Fǫlǫ, kwai dāņ, ya yiẹ̀lè yín, a yiẹda yin shǭn kį dyę̀rí, ya yiẹ̀lè. Yákǭl, maye Dākí, Amǫl ńa Ogāk (= Shal), lwagi ní fyę̀n ní fyèńǫ̀: Shal kęta? Kęá ma wāņę; ńan nį gōnį kǭţ? nańe chįņę ywódā kí Déńǫ̀, wąţé shwai ywoda, lwāk Amǫ́l, ńa Ńikań.

Akol, Dak, son of Nyikang, Kaye Duro, Akoluku, Akol Kwalai, son of Ogak Folo, you grandfather of men, I am preserved by you, I have been saved by you in ancient times, I have been preserved. Yakol, you father of *Dāk*, Amol, your people are continually asking me, "has Shal gone?" Hunger is approaching; where has he gone, he who preserves the descendants? Licking of hands[1] I found at *Deńg*, eating of soup found I, you people of *Amǫl*, the son of *Ńikań*.

Aják-bāń-węl-jǫk, kwachá kwārę, kwacha tyęń fa jwǫk, riţ e dugk mal. Kwacha kwayę yan. Ṯóm è gǭjǫ̀; yan da Ńikań, riţ e dugk mal; ţǭńá fa yęna shįnā? Yan da Ńikań; fęń a yiẹ̄l, a yiẹ̄l é rę̄ń; ya fura byę̄l, ya fākǫ̀, ya ţáńa shįnw, Wuro-kwá, kęń bādà!

Ajak-banweljok, I am praying to our grandfather, I am praying to the people of the place of God, the king[2] has returned. I am praying to our grandfather. The holy drum is being beaten, I am with *Ńikań*, the king[1] has returned to us. Is not my spear in my hand? I am with *Ńikań*. The country is saved, it is saved, though it was desolate. I am planting my dura; I thank (my ancestors), I lift up my hands, Wuro-Kwa, strengthen my arms!

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[195] [1] "licking of hands" is an expression for plenty of good food. [2] *Ńikań*.

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XVI. RIDDLES.

106. Riddles.

Adùk gẹ́ńẹ́ linyì; mẹ̀nà ófũn.	The gray one is going under a pond: Loaf of bread, which is put into the fireplace.
nịǹ gụ́unà nẹ́nè lẹ̀kò: tátá kál.	my necklace is seen beyond the river: The unbarked, white fence sticks.
ŋāmę̣ı kị rei gẹn fa gụ̀tẹ̀: tụ̀ná ḍeaǹ.	Brothers who never hurt each other: The two horns of a cow.
Ajwọ̀gẹ lenì wẹr, ẹ́ yũwẹ: yíep ḍeaǹ.	which sorcerer spends the whole night in swinging?: The tail of the cow.
Anor-nor kãmg wẹn Fashòdẹ: àlẹ̀yò.	Anor-nor visits his father (the king) at Fashoda: The grass called *olẹyẹ*, which is used in making ropes. When taxes, cows etc., are brought to the king at F., the rope with which the things are bound, gets to F.
Fuèt, fa fyẹ̀l: bùl.	It is beaten, yet is does not cease: The drum.
A rịk a rịk, fẹra manị: tẹ̀lèt.	(Dinka-language, except the last word.)
Akur jịǹ dẹǹ: ohồgẹ.	white pigeons: Bleached bones.
A pò tẹk na tyẹk ohịdẹ: Tẹ ḍiŋ.	
Adùk obọ̀gò kwèlè nẹ̀gẹ̀: gyẹ̀no.	The gray one who is spotted is driving her little ones: The hen.
Aduk ohẹ̀r yi fwòdẹ: òtịk.	The gray one is running towards the fields: The mist.
Ñejèk gwotị fen: dwẹ́i.	The black-white cow is making white the earth: The moon.
Ñuọ̀lì yaǹ ṭẹ̀nẹ ohẹ̀gò toke bur: yịṭ.	Little children stand continually at the side of the heaps of ashes: The ears of man.
ŋamẹi ḍẹgẹ lẽǹ fèn: Ówịm.	Two brothers, their mouth is turned down: The nose.
Adẽle jwọ̀k yigẹ lẽǹ fèn: ṭẹ̀u.	The calabash of God which is turned downward: The fruit of the heglig-tree.
Agar agar, yọṭ wèn: lẹ̀k.	A long row of trees full of white birds: The teeth. Along the rivers one sees frequently trees which are literally covered with snow-white birds.
Wẹ̀ṭ fen, kàrẹ fa tǒr: aǹịǹịg.	Thrown on the ground, yet not broken: Mucus from the nose.

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Tẹtẹl pịtọ rate: chäl ḍịṇ.	
Yän lịṇ kị yän lịṇ: wạṅ ḍịṇ.	It is on this side and on the other side: The eye of man.
Ya wẹlị yi kẹtị kọn? ṭịpọ ḍịṇ.	I am travelling, where are you going?: The shadow of man.
Wä dāgọ, ẹ bä kẹṭ: būr.	We remove, he does not go: The ashes. If people leave a home-stead, the ashes remain behind.
A rịgị rịk pẹre ṇgạnị: Todẹ.[1]	

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[1] Some of the riddles have not been translated, their meaning being obscene, some have for this reason been omitted altogether.

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[For texts and their interpretations, see category 116, pp. 96, 109-120, 122-127, and 135-242. --Analyst]

[Since different authors assign variant functions to the ajwogo, jal yat and bareth, for information on these religious and magical practitioners in their various contexts see also categories 756, 791, and 754.]

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